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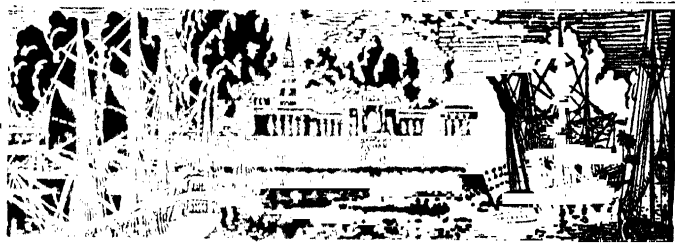




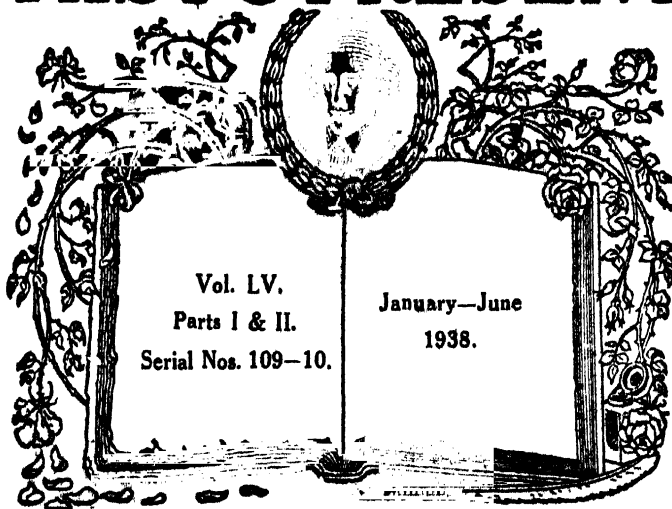








# BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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# Memoire of Rene Bladec.

Translated from the Paris manuscript.

## III

*Service under Shah Alam, Mahadji Sindhia and Rana Chhatra Singh of Gohad.*

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### IN DELHI ; FIGHT WITH THE MARATHAS, 1772-'73.

[36] I stayed some days before Kama in order to dress my wounded and to make tents for replacing those which I had lost. The Jats knew very soon what they had lost in me, since they had not been able to prevent my retreat even with a formidable army. Their vexation was the greater that I had passed over to the service of the Emperor, their sovereign, and that I was going to put him in a condition to rob them of their estates.

After eight days of rest near Kama, I marched to Delhi ; I encamped three leagues from the capital, where next day the brother of Nawab Najaf Khan came to welcome me on behalf of the Emperor, who sent me word to go and encamp under the walls of the city. [37]

This envoy had a numerous following of officers of high standing and of troops of cavalry. He was mounted on a richly covered elephant which I mounted close to him ; he placed me on his left, which is the seat of honour. I made my *sawāri* march at the head ; it was composed of five elephants of which two carried the insignia of honour that the Emperor had conferred on me, and the three others carried the chief officers of my force,—and of one very smart troop of infantry and another troop of cavalry both European and Indian. The followers of the Nawab closed the procession. I can say without ostentation that my entry into Delhi had the air of a triumph and that I entered there more like a monarch than a private person.

My troops followed in good order and arrived at the same time as myself at the camp which had been indicated for them. There the Nawab who had accompanied me took his leave and retired. Next day Nawab Najaf Khan, the commander-in-chief of the army of the Emperor, came to pay me a visit and to assure me of his friendship.

The third day [17 Nov. 1772] I went to the Emperor's audience accompanied by the Nawab and many other *grandeess* of the Court, in the same order in which I had made my entry into the city. When I entered the hall of audience the Emperor appeared and showed me his satisfaction and

robed me in a dress of very rich cloth of gold, with all the ornaments which consisted of a girdle, a turban and an aigrette of precious stones. He gave me a horse and a sword, after which he gave me leave to depart. I returned to my camp in the same order in which I had [38] gone, and I occupied myself during the first few days in considering the state of grandeur in which I found myself. I could hardly believe that it was not a dream, but the result proved to me that it was nothing else in fact.

When I quitted the Jats, two months' pay was due to my troops, and a third month elapsed in our coming to the service of the king, where after my arrival, some days after the audience my troops mutinied ; this revolt tempered my joy a little, but, not wishing to press the Emperor to pay me, I was constrained to spend my own funds for satisfying my troops and appeasing them.

During this time, the Marathas desolated the Jat [territory] on one side ; and, on the other, the Emperor's troops occupied their country. The Jats knew not how to extricate themselves from the affair, having two enemies on their hands at the same time.

The Marathas had laid siege to a large fort of the Jats and taken it. The vanquished, not being able to pay the [whole] indemnity immediately, however proposed to the Marathas to make peace by means of a sum to which they agreed but on condition that the victors would compel the Emperor to restore to the Jats the country which he had taken from them. The Marathas agreed to the offer, and wrote to the Great Moghal requesting him to evacuate his recent conquests in the Jat country. The Ruhelas made, on their part, the same convention with the Marathas. The Emperor replied that he knew his rights, that he was Sovereign, and that the Jats and Ruhelas were rebels who had usurped territories under his obedience. The Emperor, at the same time raised an army, and I came to pass into his service.

The Marathas looked on this with jealousy and did not wish to give him time to increase his forces, which would very soon have been in a situation to counterbalance their own if they had left him breathing space. Resolved finally to hold the Emperor in dependence on them, they determined to attack him in concert with the Jats and the Ruhelas. The fate of the Emperor came to be decided under the walls of Delhi, the capital.

The army of the allies assembled and appeared before Delhi towards the close of December 1772. They could be numbered [about] two hundred thousand men. The Marathas at the head of their troops proposed to the Emperor what they had before proposed in favour of the Jats and the Ruhelas. The Emperor, on whom they wished to impose such hard terms, examined his resources and assembled such troops as he had ; but he did not do what he ought to have done on that occasion : he did not appear at the head of his army. Opinion was divided as to what should be done and what should not be done. The minister [Hisamuddin Kh] did not wish to deliver battle, while Najaf Khan the General wished to do so. While that irresolution lasted, that is to say during some days, the army of the allies made hostilities in

the plain [south] of Delhi, pillaging, burning, ravaging everything. The army of the Emperor (which Madec says in another work, was 38,000 cavalry and 8,000 infantry besides the French led force) offered battle on all of these days and retired at night, not wishing to take the initiative by attacking. Every day the Marathas issued challenges, to which these did not reply. At last the enemy forces took up a position face to face, on 20th [cor. 17th] December 1772. The army of the Emperor rested its right on the walls of the city and its left on the Jamuna ; it had a fort a cannon shot behind it. The corn-fields, being surrounded by high hedges, formed as many entrenchments. My position was a little near the centre. I had on my left two battalions of English sepoys who had four pieces of cannon, while I had eight. The Mughal cavalry occupied the right by platoons according to the terrain. It was a very advantageous position, allowing of a vigorous resistance.

#### BATTLE OF PURANA QILA : MADEC RUINED.

The Maratha army approached, but with the confusion common to that kind of troops. They advanced, gradually precipitating their course. They made a feint of attacking the Mughal cavalry, which was shaken before being attacked. The Marathas halted as if to wait for the enemy ; but seeing a species of disorder among our men, they profited by the moment to charge themselves. At the first shock the Mughal cavalry took to flight. One body of the Maratha army passed like lightning between the city and me, and pursued the fugitives. I then found myself alone in resisting all the efforts of the enemy's army, who had charged with so much precipitation that I had hardly the time to form my battalion in square with a view to combating the allied army who surrounded me on all sides. I must do M. de Kerscao the justice to say that he formed the battalion in square with the greatest quickness, and all the order possible. It is to his bravery and his intelligence that I owe the glory of having sustained the efforts of the immense Maratha army during nine hours by the clock.

The two battalions of English [sepoys] on my left, seeing the Emperor's army in flight, and seeing also that I was standing firm, made a right turn in order to come to rest on me. I fought on firm feet. The Marathas on seeing this, made all their efforts during the rest of that day to break me, but without the power to succeed ; so that, I remained from noon up to nine o'clock in the evening at the same position, without the enemy being ever able to subdue me. This action is sufficiently well known, so that people can believe that I am not imposing.

I had, however, lost three pieces of cannon, and two munition-carts, at the commencement of the action ; but the fire which I kept up did not leave the enemy liberty to drag them away : they contented themselves by cutting the traces and dragging away the oxen. I found a moment favourable for advancing my battalion with a view to going to recover them, and I succeeded in it : but, for want of oxen, I was obliged to abandon them at night in my retreat. During the time that I was thus sustaining the shock,

the Marathas avenged, on my camp, the resistance which I had offered to them. I had left my camp pitched under the walls of Delhi : they pillaged it entirely. I lost five elephants, all my horses, camels, tents, carriages and quantities of effects. This loss reduced me to extremities. The minister [Hisam-ud-daulah] was a spectator of this pillage, with all his troops, without making the least movement to oppose it. On the contrary, his soldiers pillaged a part of it.

Thus passed that day, on which depended the fate of the Emperor and of me, and which rendered our situation equal, due allowance being made. That night I presented an account of my conduct to the Emperor, who filled me with praise and did me the honour of embracing me : he took off a pair of *shawls* which he had on his shoulders to put them on mine and gave me leave to depart.

The next day the Marathas advanced with their artillery for bombarding the city. I entrenched among the ruined [houses] and cannonaded all the day time that day. I was wounded by a bullet in my thigh, when seated on the edge of the trenches. I remained up to the night at that post, and also the next day ; after which the Emperor proposed a parley. But the Marathas, who wished to enjoy the advantages which a battle won gave them, forced the Great Mughal to agree to everything that they desired.

#### SHAH ALAM SUBMITS TO MARATHAS. NAJAF KHAN OUSTED.

The capitulation was to the following effect :—

- (a) That the Emperor should not keep troops in excess of what was necessary for him to guard himself,
- (b) That he should restore to the Jats the country which they possessed before,
- (c) That he should not draw any revenue from Hindustan,
- (d) That the Nawab Zabita Khan Ruhela should be recognised as Inspector General [*i.e.*, Mir Bakhshi] and that he should be again put in possession of the territory which the Emperor in conjunction with the Marathas had conquered from him in the preceding campaign,
- (e) That the monarch should pay a sum of [*blank in the original*] to the Marathas for the expenses of the war, and
- (f) That he should cede to them the province of Kora Jahanabad, and finally give them full power to collect in his name all the revenues of the expanse of country under obedience to him.

The Emperor, after this affair, found himself in a very sad situation ; no hope remained to him of re-establishing his affairs ; he had not paid his troops before the battle, and now found himself unable to pay them after ; he had given me only a very little after my arrival at Delhi.

I went everyday to the Court without being able to get an audience ; I believed myself to be on the point when my troops would revolt and I should not be able to pay them myself.

To crown their hopes, the Marathas demanded that Nawab Najaf Khan should be delivered up to them. But it is necessary to go back to things a little more distant in order to understand the motive underlying a demand so contrary to the law of nations. Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah is the prime minister of the Emperor, but as he is sovereign in a large subah, he troubles himself very little to fulfil the duties of his charge at Court, but he keeps in Delhi a representative to whom he dictates his wishes. Nawab Najaf Khan is commander [Mir Bakhshi] of the Emperor's troops and a near relative of Shuja-ud-daulah, and it is said that kinsman in this country is understood to mean enemy. For a long time past there has reigned between these two lords an animosity which has rendered them irreconcilable. Najaf Khan is the more irritated because Shuja-ud-daulah [40] kept him prisoner for a very long time and would have beheaded him, were it not for the fact that the former found means to escape.

Shuja-ud-daulah, seeing the Marathas masters of the Emperor and of all that belonged to him, instigated the Marathas through his Delhi agent that they should seize Najaf Kh ; that is at least what people conjecture about it. In short, the Marathas, be it for the reasons I have stated, or because they had some special reason for it, summoned this Nawab to issue from Delhi and come to their camp. The Oudh representative, in order to engage the Marathas the more to get hold of him, made them understand that it was the Nawab who had urged the Emperor into the war which he had waged against them. He added a large sum to all these reasons. That was the true means of succeeding.

Najaf Khan refused to submit to this violence ; he entrenched himself in his palace ; all the troops left in Delhi seized their arms, and took possession of the roads and houses, resolved to defend if the Marathas entered into the city. I disposed of my troops at different posts, without espousing any party, solely for guaranteeing my family against the pillage which was sure to be inevitable.

However, Najaf Khan, finding that he could not long support himself against a large and victorious army, liked better to surrender with good grace than to be seized by force and with arms in the hand, which would have rendered his [41] ruin inevitable. He then demanded safe assurances from the Marathas, and next went to their camp where he was received with honour ; he made his conditions with them and has lived since that time in their army, where his troops have followed him. The Marathas, intoxicated by such victories, at last, broke up camp in order to go to make an attempt against Shuja-ud-daulah and the English, his allies. But there was not the least appearance that they gained the same advantages as the late ones. They attacked a camp of the Ruhelas, but the English army which appeared in the meantime, made them take to flight without fighting. [27th March 1773, at Rāmghāt.]



By this precipitate retreat the Marathas found themselves dispersed, one portion of them being on the other bank of the Ganges and the other portion on this. We do not know yet what resulted from it. It should be observed that the Maratha army was under the orders of three different chiefs, Sindhia, Visaji and Tuko [*text reads* Laucon.] Sindhia who had called the Emperor in order to put him on the throne, and who had promised to him on oath to maintain him there, did not wish to give his troops for the battle [against the Emperor] ; not only did he refuse to fight that prince, but he also condemned the conduct of the other two chiefs, broke with them and left them in order to carry on the war elsewhere.

### MADEC GOES OVER TO SINDHIA.

During the time that all things passed thus, I was confined to Delhi without pay and without the power to have an audience of the Emperor, who spoke to none. The Wazir's representative held that Prince [42] so strictly that none could send him a letter even. All the chiefs of the army were in the position in which I found myself, but mine was such that the Minister, far from being favourable to me, would rather have wished to get rid of me, fearing some enterprise on my part. I tried, on my part, to find one day the power to issue from Delhi, to search for the means of making my troops subsist, by taking service with some ally of the Emperor.

I made proposals to Sindhia, who had remained true to the interests of this prince. He accepted with alacrity the offer of my services, and as soon as my business was concluded with him, I issued from Delhi, [c. Feb. 1773] drums beating, with my troops and the rest of my baggage. I joined the Maratha chief after eight days' marching. I then abandoned all that the Emperor owed to me, I came to lose in his service nearly all that had remained with me when I left the Jats. Being disgusted entirely with service in this country I resolved to retire to my native land. I imparted to M. Chevalier the bad success of my enterprises in favour of the Emperor and demanded a passport from him. I prayed him to make a favourable report about me to the [Colonial] Minister, although I had been so unfortunate as not to have succeeded in that which I had undertaken for the good of my nation.

It is for gaining a little time and [thus] satisfying my creditors that I am in the army of Sindhia, that is, I believe, the way in which my labours for going and enjoying, in the bosom of my fatherland, a little of tranquillity, will terminate.

[44] I received during my campaign in the army of Sindhia, the following letter from M. Chevalier written in cypher, dated 12th February, 1773. [Omitted.]

The Maratha general [Mahadji Sindhia] with whom I had made my junction, always persisting in the interests of the Emperor, occupied himself during the campaign only in making a ruinous war on the territories of the Jats and those of Jaipur, in order to remove from these two Powers the means of being in a state to do harm to the projects of the following campaign.

## MADEC DECIDES TO RETIRE TO FRANCE.

He congratulated me on this that in quitting Delhi I was not at all detached from the service of the Emperor ; and although I was absolutely determined to go away to France, I felt a secret joy at my troops being still attached to the service of the Emperor. There was only the question of entrusting the command [of my contingent] to some one capable of fulfilling at the same time the views of the [French] Government by negotiations pursued with the Princes of Hindustan, and make war in their name under the banner of France, and causing the party of soldiers to subsist, [45] whom my misfortunes forced me to leave in other hands, by reason of the unconquerable disgust which I have conceived on account of my scant success. I cast my eyes on M. Dujarday, whom the [French] Government had sent to the Emperor and to many other princes of the country for treating about the affairs of the French nation with them. I proposed him to the Maratha General to be commander of my troops in my place, declaring that I wished to retire to my native land.

It is difficult to believe what trouble I had to obtain the consent which I asked for, and the excessive offers which they made to me to engage me to remain one year more. They offered to me not only large sums but the post of Commissary General of the troops of the Emperor. All this was fruitless ; I persisted in my resolution, and I obtained at last my audience of farewell after having installed M. Dujarday at the head of my troops, which I abandoned to him in full proprietorship, with the artillery, arms, munitions, carriages, oxen, tents and all in general which formed part of my camp, on the condition that he would serve the Princes who would agree with him for the benefit of the French nation.

This officer found himself then in the most advantageous position in which he could be ; finding himself, all at the same time, charged with the affairs of our nation, and commanding the troops which I had left to him, he was in a position to receive those who might be made to pass into that party and procure for them the means of subsistence, up to the moment of a happy revolution. [46.]

Thus I left things in the same state in which our Government desired that they should be, and I venture to flatter myself that the [Colonial] Minister will approve of my conduct and recompense my affection and zeal [for France.]

## MADEC REACHES GOHAD DESPITE JAT OPPOSITION.

In leaving the army of the Maratha general in order to go to the place where I had sent my family, it was necessary to pass through the territory of the Jats, and the danger to me was evident after I had quitted them in the manner that I had done, but I had no other road. I left on the 10th June, 1773, at six hours of the evening, from the camp of Rupbās, with only two companies of infantry and one of cavalry. I marched all the night in

order to be able to arrive at daybreak on the bank of the Chambal, which divides [the realm of] the Jats from [that of] the Rajah of Gohad, to whom I had to pass. At seven o'clock in the morning I was attacked by a troop of cavalry small in number, and I did not take the trouble of stopping in order to fight them.

On the contrary I hastened myself to arrive at a defile in a mountain full of ravines (*crevasses*), which I had caused to be reconnoitred and where I feared much to be attacked, because a hundred men lying in ambush there would suffice to stop the passage of twenty thousand men. But the Jats did not imagine that I would venture to pass under two fortresses, of which one is the city of Dholpur a cannon-shot on the left and the [47] other a very strong village [probably the Old Chhaoni] on the right,—they having barred the ordinary roads.

I arrived at the edge of the defile where I posted a detachment of infantry in order to favour the passage of my cavalry, by firing on the troops of the Jats and they on my escort. I lost some men slain or made prisoner, but at last I arrived at the foot of the defile and I entered the plain, whence after the arrival of my rear guard, I marched in order to gain the river Chambal, one league or so distant from the mountain. No sooner did I arrive there than the plain became covered with cavalry and infantry, but they could not overtake me, I having come to the bank of the river, which I passed happily and highly satisfied with defeating the vigilance of my enemies, who would have been well avenged—if they had seized me—for the combat which I had made with them at the time when I quitted them for passing into the Emperor's service.

Next day I arrived at Gohad ; the Rajah welcomed me by advancing and conducted me to a garden where he had prepared tents ; he regaled me, as also all my suite, during the two days that I remained in his capital,—after which time he gave me a numerous escort of cavalry to conduct me to Narwar.

#### QASIM ALI, EX-NAWAB OF BENGAL.

On arriving at Bedi,\* ten leagues from Gohad, I found Qasim Ali Khan, Nawab of Bengal, [48] ready to depart for going to implore the help of some princes in enabling him to subsist. All the world imagines that this prince has riches, but I can certify that he has absolutely nothing and that he is in decided misery. Since the English have chased him out of Bengal, he has lived on some jewels which he had saved, but he has nothing more. As this prince knew that I was due to pass, he had planned his departure for leaving the territory of the Rajah [of Gohad], in order to have my protection. He did very well to take this part, because at the moment when we were going to set out on our march, the Rajah sent orders for arresting him for the sake of Rs. 7,000 which this unfortunate prince had borrowed.

\* > *Bela Baori*, about ten miles south of Gwalior.

This incident obliged me to stay ; I wrote to the Rajah that I would be responsible to him for the sum and that in consequence I prayed him not to disturb the Nawab and not to put any obstacle in the path of his departure. The Rajah seeing that I was interested in this affair, revoked the order and the arrest, and wrote to Qasim Ali Khan that he presented that amount to him and that he could depart. We continued our route and in a few days both of us arrived at Narwar. Thus his poverty is not doubtful, since he would have been forced to remain in the Rajah's country as a prisoner, for want of the power to pay him. [49.]

#### MADEC RETURNS TO MAHADJI SINDHIA.

In spite of all these troubles, I arrived at Narwar, where my family was, whence I counted upon taking my point of departure for going to Pondicherry. My searches were fruitless during the two months that I remained with that object, without being able to find any outlet for taking myself to the chief place of the French establishments [in India.] In view of the difficulties which they had made me perceive, I did not wish to risk myself with my family and my property. I had then nothing more to do than to return to my camp, for preserving my credit and my relations which might be useful to my country, and for not wasting my funds uselessly. I did not hesitate ; I arrived there very quickly, though I had 200 leagues to go.

It should be said that I had promised to that Maratha prince [Sindhia] on parting that if I could not pass over to France I should return to join him. He was very happy at my return, and all my troops also, who testified it to me by cries of joy.

I continued with him the campaigns which he had undertaken, in which we had nothing considerable ; we only laid siege to many petty forts ; and when he departed for the Deccan, [after the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao on 30th August 1773], I left him, according to our conditions that I would not serve against Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah, if he went [back] to his own territory, and that I would not quit Hindustan till I could return to my fatherland.

#### MADEC RETURNS TO GOHAD SERVICE.

And I returned with my troop to the Rajah of Gohad ; I arrived after twelve days of very painful marching across the woods and the mountains. [50].

I was for a long time tied up with this prince, who had sworn an eternal friendship with me. My intention was to rest here and to wait here for the events in which I could profit by the occasion. With that object, I proposed to myself to give to the most capable of my officers the command of my troops, who would be in the pay of this prince and under his orders,—such

was our reciprocal pact, because I had not been well at ease for such a long time that I had no desire to continue roving uselessly on campaigns but to enjoy repose.

As my nation had not come [back] to this country and I could not render myself useful to it as I had always intended and the French Government had made me hope at all times, I then said to myself that when the French Government would again come here it would always find me ready to go wherever its service would require, because I had retained that liberty in the agreements I had made. [Madec's relations with Shuja-ud-daulah at this time, already translated in this journal, 1936, pp. 65-66].

JADUNATH SARKAR.

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# Manuscript Letter-Book of Charles Warre Malet (1780-84 A.D.)

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Foll. 154 ; 18¾ in. by 11½ in. ; written on both sides of the leaf, at an average about 45 lines 10½ in. long on each side ; written in a good round bold hand, the names of the addressees are in a still bigger script.

\* \* \* \* \*

**I**T was Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who first directed my attention towards this Letter-Book of Sir Charles Warre Malet, which was for sale with Messrs. Bernard Quaritch Ltd., London. This is the only copy hitherto known to exist, and its contents are nowhere to be found, neither in the Poona Residency Records nor in other papers of the Bombay Government ; hence realizing its historical importance I secured it for my own collection.

It is a manuscript Letter-Book containing copies 211 letters written by Malet from Combay, Ahmadabad, Surat, Brach, and Bombay to his superiors at Surat and Bombay, General Goddard and the General's associates, and his own personal friends, patrons and relations both in India and England. The letters were written during the period from January 17, 1780 to May 29, 1784. The Letter-Book is written in a good round bold hand, and the names of the addressees are put down in a still bolder script, but in copying out these letters from the originals the copyist has made numerous mistakes mainly due to extremely bad handwriting of Malet ; the copyist has not only misread many words and failed to copy down the various stops correctly, but has also inadvertently omitted many words here and there thus making the meaning of some sentences quite obscure.

Malet, whose letters are collected together in this Letter-Book, was the son of Rev. Alexander Malet went out to Bombay in the E. I. Co.'s civil service in 1770. In 1774 he was appointed the Resident at Cambay and continued to hold that post till February 8, 1784, when he handed over his charge to his successor, Mr. Holford, and left for Bombay. In 1779 he was made the Persian Interpreter to the factory at Surat as well, and on January, 1784 he was given an occasional seat at the Surat Board. During all these ten years of his residentship at Cambay, he was mainly busy with the affairs of Cambay and other matters in Northern Gujrat. He was, however, once involved in affairs of very great importance ; the very next year following his appointment there (in 1775) Raghoba came down to Malet in Cambay and sought his protection on behalf of the English. Thus Malet was responsible for having "preserved his (Raghoba's) person, jewels and several grants of territories to the Company".

But by the year 1780, when this Letter-Book begins, the actual storm-centre had shifted away from Cambay and during the rest of his stay at Cambay he was never again called upon to directly participate in any event of first-rate importance. The local events were many and not without some importance, yet they were too petty to influence the general course of the history of India as a whole or the province of Gujrat in particular. Malet, however, could not rest contented with his routine matters at Cambay ; he belongs to that select band of the servants of the Company, who laboured hard trying to gather knowledge about the geographical and historical details of the province where they were posted, who made it a point to study and make themselves fully conversant with the Indian vernaculars and the Eastern classical languages. Immediately after his appointment at Cambay and soon after his having got rid of the direct responsibilities of Raghoba's affairs, he laboured hard to collect together and prepare an account of the province of Gujrat and its political connections. In years to come when the Bombay Government was called upon to deal with and try to settle the affairs of Gujrat, this account along with other details gathered by Malet from first-hand knowledge proved to be of immense help. Further, he applied himself for full two years to the study of the Persian Language and as a result was appointed the Persian Interpreter to the Surat Board in 1779. During the campaign of Goddard in Gujrat (January-May, 1780) Malet helped the General very much by supplying him with all sorts of detailed information about the province. This possibly suggested to him the idea, and by the end of October, 1780 Malet had prepared a map of Gujrat. Once he even thought of translating and writing a detailed historical account of Gujrat, but later gave up the idea. The Letter-Book gives us full details about Malet's intellectual activities during the period.

As the main interest of Malet during the four years covered by the Letter-Book was centered in Cambay, the affairs in Cambay and those connected with it naturally take the first and foremost place in his letters. The Letter-Book is full of the details about the court intrigues, the ever-changing moods of the Nawab, Momin Khan and his attitude towards the English, his secret overtures with the various Maratha generals and the Maratha government of the Peshwa at Poona and the helplessness of Momin Khan's successor, Najim Khan. Malet, however, was very anxious to carry out an ambitious program. Since the beginning of the year 1780 Malet had begun to be impressed with the situation and the strategical importance of Cambay due to the access it commands to the Northern parts of the province of Gujrat, and also due to its direct touch with Surat and Bombay by sea-route. Hence Malet began to think out the ways and means by which the State of Cambay would become a possession of the English Company. He began with restoring the influence of the English at the Cambay Court, and materially helped in the rise of Mirza Zaman, the Naib, to power simply because Mirza was favourably disposed towards the English. Malet favoured the cause of the Nawab as against the Gaikwad and tried his best to get the abolition of the Chauth of Cambay. Malet's one great idea was to secure the State for the Company as a reversion on the death of Momin Khan, but his superior authorities did

not take up the same on Momin Khan's death in Jan., 1784, his son-in-law Najim Khan succeeded him as the Nawab of Cambay. Malet, however, established the hold of the English on the city by securing the control of its Phoorza gate for the Company (March, 30, 1780). He hoped to further tighten his hold over the government of the State through Mirza Zaman, but the Nawab greatly resented any such control. The Nawab was an old, weak and vacillating man, who by turns favoured or was ill-disposed towards Malet and his compatriots; and even when he was favourably disposed towards the English he could not resist the temptation of making overtures to the Marathas. Malet had collected together many proofs of these overtures, and whenever he found the Nawab hostile he would send down to his superiors these proofs of the Nawab's infidelity to the English and would strongly urge that the Nawab be punished with deposition and his State be added to the possessions of the Company. But these suggestions of Malet did not find favour with his superiors, and when the Nawab somehow came to know of these facts, he did not hesitate to put an end to the domineering influence of Malet by removing Mirza from his high office of the Vazir-ship (Feb. 20, 1782). All efforts of Malet to restore Mirza to power in the State failed and the Nawab went on even to confiscate the property of Mirza in Cambay. To the last day of Momin Khan's life the relations of Malet with him were anything but cordial. Malet tried to persuade Najim Khan to be kind to Mirza but these entreaties too did not bring any better result. With the transfer of Malet to Bombay he ceased to have any direct interest either in Mirza or in the affairs of Cambay. Many of these details relating to the affairs of Cambay are for the first time brought to light by this Letter-Book.

Malet's close association with the affairs of Cambay brought him into an intimate touch with the government of Gaikwad. The tangled web of political partitions and administrative divisions of Gujrat had to some extent been set right by the treaty concluded by Goddard with Fateh Singh Gaikwad; yet many questions still remained undecided. Malet was much concerned about a final settlement of the question of the Chauth of Cambay, and even went down to Ahmedabad to meet and personally acquaint Goddard with full details of the case. The problem of the regular payment of the Chauth along with a settlement of other payments like 'Kathi-pal', continued to be constant sources of trouble and friction. Every year troubles would arise between the Nawab and the officers of the Gaikwad, and Malet would be busy intervening in the dispute and harassing his superiors with all sorts of details and complaints against the Gaikwad. Thus incidentally the Letter-Book gives us a very complete picture of the relations that existed between these newly-established Maratha chieftains and the other local rulers in the province. It also throws much light on the condition of the northern Gujrat during these years. Malet graphically describes the various court-intrigues and the continued maladministration that flourished at the courts of Cambay and Baroda. Complete anarchy prevailed in the region between the Mahi and the Sabarmati rivers; the Gaikwad and his Maratha officers were not much concerned about the peace and tranquillity of these tracts save when collecting their dues. The raids of the Kathis and troubles created by the



Kolis practically devastated the country ; time and again efforts were made to check these raids or to put down all refractory forces, but these arrangements never proved effectual as they were never carried out. The English garrison at Ahmedabad was so much troubled by continuance of these disturbances and insults of the Kathi invaders that its leader, Capt. Rattaray, was once simply provoked to attempt with success a surprise attack on the Kathis (*circa* Dec. 15, 1780).

Malet was a severe critic of Fateh Singh Gaikwad. He honestly thought that the treaty made by Goddard caused only loss to the Company. Malet considered it to be simply treacherous that after having gained everything at the expense of the Company, Fateh Singh should do nothing to help the Company even when he had definitely promised it in his treaty. In his letters Malet gives us a detailed account of the movements of Fateh Singh, the important happenings at his court, and describes at length his atrocities and high-handed rule. It was with bitter disappointment that Malet saw the city of Ahmedabad being handed over to Fateh Singh ; with Surat, Gogha and Cambay already under the English control, he considered it most essential that the English should occupy Ahmedabad too and thus add the last link to the chain which would make the footing of the English in Gujrat quite firm and secure. Had Malet been given a free hand, or had his suggestions been even heeded to, the history of Gujrat would have been quite different. He was for an aggressive policy and had once (in January, 1780) even proposed to attack and conquer for the Company places like Borsad which were near about Cambay.

Even when posted at Cambay, Malet was actively busy carrying on a good deal of correspondence with many other important persons and was taking a keen interest in the events happening in the various distant theatres of activity. His earlier letters contained numerous references, even though they are very cursory, to all the important events of the campaign of Goddard in Gujrat and later at Bassein and in the Konkan. He was continually receiving messengers from the officers busy with the campaign in Malwa, and he in his turn communicated the details of the same to his friends and superiors. When in Surat or at Bombay, Malet was up-to-date in his knowledge about the happenings in the distant Deccan and the naval engagements that were being fought with the French in the Indian seas (June-July, 1782). In one of his last letters it must, however, be admitted that even though many of the letters contain references to the contemporary events they do not add much to our knowledge ; they simply corroborate known facts. After the conclusion of peace with the Marathas and on his return to Cambay in November, 1782 Malet had not many events to refer to when writing to his friends.

But above all these things, the importance of the Letter-Book consists in the fact that it gives us his running commentary on the contemporary events, campaigns and on the policy that was being then pursued. Malet was not only in close touch with the contemporary events and happenings, but was also clever enough to understand the various political intricacies of

the situation and realise the possible consequences of the same. Moreover, he had been trying hard to know the past history of the various Indian powers and to search out the points of their strength and weakness ; he thus possessed full knowledge that was essential to understand and grasp the real state of affairs. Finally, the aloofness of Malet gave him the right bend of mind to discuss and criticise the various contemporary happenings with the impartiality of a disinterested on-looker. He not only gives a complete criticism of the campaigns of Goddard, the policy that was being pursued by the Bombay Government in respect to the Gaikwad, but in some places even goes on to discuss the true nature of the Maratha Government and points out threadbare the causes of its weakness as well. Malet is rather hard on Goddard and bitterly resents his domineering influence at the Bombay Council ; but that does not in any way detract from the value of his criticism of Goddard's military strategy. Malet's outlook is that of an Englishman and he was studying things with a view to find out how best to take advantage of the weakness or the failing of the Indian powers.

But throughout all these four years covered by the Letter-Book one great complaint of Malet against his superiors was that his merit, abilities and all his efforts to equip himself for higher and more responsible posts were not receiving due recognition. He hoped that soon after his appointment as the Persian Interpreter to the Surat Board, he would be given a seat at the same Board. But when it did not come off his disappointment was great.—When for years his requests went unheeded, he applied for the revival of the Baronet's patent, which was latent in his family since the time of Charles II, hoping that the Baronetcy will help him in his promotion and rise. But early in 1784 his fortune took a definite turn for the better, and he got the much-coveted seat at the Surat Board. Moreover, soon after that, within a year, he was called upon to fulfil the great and the most important office of the Resident-Minister at Poona, whereby he not only played a great part in the Indian history, but greatly influenced its course also.

As an independent contemporary authority and as a historical source-book for our knowledge about the First Maratha War, this Letter-Book does not add much to our knowledge of the main series of events, nor does it in any way revolutionise our point of view. But it definitely fills some gaps here and there by giving fuller details of a few unknown and minor campaigns in Gujrat, and substantially adds to our knowledge by giving us a complete picture of the state of affairs and the political situation then prevailing in Northern Gujrat. The Letter-Book throws a flood of light on the policy of the English towards the various Indian powers. Further, it clearly shows that the weak, vacillating and hesitant attitude of the Bombay Government in the beginning, and later the over-cautiousness combined with complete lack of any daring and decisive action by Goddard were mainly responsible for the failure of the English arms in the Konkan during these years.

In conclusion, this be added that a rough contents-list of the complete Letter-Book is being appended to this paper, which will enable the scholars to form an exact idea of its contents and estimate its true importance. It gives

me pleasure to further add that this Letter-Book is being edited by me and will most probably form one of the many volumes of 'Old Poona Residency Records', which are being published by the Bombay Government under the general editorship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

## APPENDIX

### A ROUGH CONTENTS-LIST OF "MALET'S LETTER-BOOK".

- Letters No. 1-36, Jan. 17, 1780 to May 23, 1780.—Seven letters are wholly useless, the remaining ones are all important and deal with the affairs in Cambay, the changing attitude of the Nawab, the restoration of the British influence at his court, the campaign of General Goddard in Gujrat and his return to Surat, and the settlement of affairs with Gaikwad with special reference to his relations with Cambay. Some of these letters throw good deal of light over the anarchical state of the province of Gujrat and the disturbances caused by the raids of Kathis and Kolis. Malet's visit to General Goddard at Ahmedabad in the third week of Feb. 1780 to discuss and acquaint the latter with the details of the relations of Cambay with the Gaikwad.
- Letter No. 37, May 26, 1780.—A detailed summary of Goddard's campaign in Gujrat along with its criticism by Malet.
- Letters No. 38-44, June 5, 1780 to July 31, 1780 ;—one letter wholly useless, the rest describe the inimical attitude of the Nawab of Cambay, his overtures with the Maratha chiefs and the court at Poona, and finally contains a stringent criticism of the conduct of the Nawab by Malet.
- Letter No. 45, August 12, 1780.—An important letter summarising the course of events during the First Maratha War, and Malet's criticism of the treaty concluded by Goddard with the Gaikwad.
- Letters No. 46-70, August 17, 1780 to April 16, 1781.—Seven letters wholly useless. The remaining letters deal with affairs in Northern Gujrat and give details of the events in Cambay, the movements of Fateh Singh Gaikwad, the troubles caused by the Kathis and Kolis, the proposed arrangements for protecting the territories of the Gaikwad and the State of Cambay from their raids, the various disputes arising between the officers of Gaikwad and the Nawab, and the intervention of Malet in the same. The references to other contemporary events are few and far between. On August 18, 1780 Malet for the first time put his claim and request for an occasional seat on the Surat Board.
- Letters No. 71-2, May 4 and 9, 1781.—These letters refer to the events of the campaign in Malwa and the probable effects on its result if the Gaikwad had helped the English with his cavalry.

- Letter No. 73, May 14, 1781.—A short yet an excellent summary of all the events connected with the Maratha War.
- Letters No. 74-76, May 25, 1781 to June 18, 1781.—Details about the policy of the English towards the Gaikwad and the relations of the Gaikwad with the Nawab of Cambay.
- Letter No. 77, July 1, 1781.—Details about events in Malwa as known from Col. Muir.
- Letter No. 78, July, 18, 1781.—Useless.
- Letter No. 79, July 21, 1781.—A detailed summary of the recent events and Goddard's campaign in Konkan ; some references to various European events just then known in India.
- Letters No. 80-83, July 18, 1781 to August 4, 1781.—Affairs in Cambay, the attitude of and events connected with the Gaikwad.
- Letters No. 84-85, August 7 and 8, 1781.—Correspondence with Goddard and Watherstone regarding former's previous campaigns.
- Letters No. 86-87, August 17 and September 2, 1781.—A severe criticism of the policy that was being followed in respect to the Gaikwad, and Malet's suggestions for future policy. Goddard on a visit to the Gaikwad.
- Letters No. 88-90, September 10 to 14, 1781.—These refer mainly to Cambay affairs, specially to the inimical attitude of the Nawab towards the English.
- Letter No. 91, September 20, 1781.—Malet's criticism of the way in which Goddard carried out the campaigns and negotiations.
- Letter No. 92, September 22, 1781.—Malet's private letter stating his claim to an occasional seat at the Surat Board.
- Letters No. 93-94, September, 27 and October 2, 1781.—Affairs of Cambay, movements of the Gaikwad and the situation in Gujrat.
- Letters No. 95-97, October 8 to 15, 1781.—They relate to Goddard ; not very important. A criticism of Goddard's appointment to Bombay Council.
- Letters No. 98-107, October 21 to December, 1781.—These deal with the Cambay affairs, the relations of Cambay with the Gaikwad, the state of affairs in the Gaikwad's territories especially in Ahmedabad, and the policy and movements of the Gaikwad. There are just a few references to the movements of Col. Muir and the Sindhia in Malwa.
- Letter No. 108, December, 27, 1781.—A personal letter to Mr. Macpherson of Bengal Council, relating to his own promotion.
- Letter No. 109, January 5, 1782.—Malet discusses the true nature of the Maratha Government and mentions the causes of its weakness.
- Letters No. 110-111, January 10 and 14, 1782.—Malet points out all relevant facts about Cambay, to be borne in mind when making negotiations with the Marathas. The note sent by Malet along with letter No. 111 gives an excellent summary of the relations of the English with Cambay.

Letters No. 112-113, January 22 and 23, 1782.—Useless.

Letter No. 114, February 14, 1782.—A very detailed letter giving an account of the recent events in Cambay, describing the changed attitude of the Nawab, the arrest of Mirza Zaman and the way Malet got him released from the arrest.

Letters No. 115 and 117, February 22 and April 16, 1782.—Important letters addressed to David Anderson discussing various matters connected with the First Maratha War and about the conclusion of peace with the Marathas. In letter No. 117 Malet describes at length the wretched condition of the Bombay Presidency and the mess into which its administration has been led to due to the over-domineering influence of Goddard.

Letter No. 116, March 7, 1782.—Letter relating to Mirza Zaman. Malet then in Surat along with Mirza Zaman and other of Mirza's fellow-exiles.

Letters No. 118-119, April 19, 1782.—Malet refers to his claim to seat at the Surat Board. There are many references to various events in India in Letter No. 118.

Letters No. 120-123, April 19 to May 5, 1782.—Cambay affairs and the advisability of maintaining the factory at Cambay are discussed.

Letter No. 124, May 12, 1782.—Letter to David Anderson hoping for a speedy and successful ending of the peace negotiations ; some Delhi and the Punjab news.

Letters No. 125-131, May 25 to August 15, 1782.—Malet describes the affairs of Cambay, with special reference to Mirza Zaman and his other fellow-exiles in Surat. Malet requests to be relieved of his post at Cambay and also for a seat at the Surat Board. His letters and requests go unheeded and unanswered.

Letter No. 132, September 12, 1782.—Personal and private letter ; wholly useless.

Letters No. 133-134, September 13 and 28, 1782. Malet at Bombay to get the Cambay affairs, specially about Mirza Zaman, settled by the Bombay Council. Letters contain important details about the naval engagements and movements of the English navy in Indian seas off the Coromandal and Malabar coasts, the resignation of General Goddard, and the wretched condition of the Bombay Presidency.

Letters No. 135-139, September 28 to October 4, 1782.—Personal letters to friends mostly in England to help his cause. Malet thinks of making attempts to revive the Baronet's patent latent in his family since the time of Charles II.

Letters No. 140-168, December 3, 1782 to February 28, 1783.—Malet was back in Cambay in November 25, 1782 and found the Nawab hostile to him. Malet found his own position very precarious ; the Nawab began to deal directly with the Governor at Bombay, and at the instigation of the Nawab Malet and other men belonging to the residency at Cambay

were being slighted and insulted Malet failed to get Mirza reinstated as the Vazir in Cambay and finally gave up the idea as Mirza himself did not think of returning to Cambay. Malet presistently requested his superiors that he be relieved of his post at Cambay.—9 letters are wholly useless ; the remaining ones too do not contain many facts and are full of repetitions.

Letters No. 169- ; February 28, 1783 to April 20, 1784.—These letters are yet to be examined thoroughly. The type-script of the same is being got ready at the alienation Office, Poona, and is expected to be received very soon. The gap will be filled up before the session of the I.H.R. Commission.

RAGHUBIR SINH

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# Discursive Notes on Balasore

## A. Important products of Balasore

### (a) Cotton.

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ORISSA was famous for cotton products. There is one variety named *sahan*, included in the list of cotton cloths mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. Pelsaert refers to it as one of the products of Jagannath as *tsehen*, a superior wide cloth suitable for bed sheets. He also mentions another variety called *hammam* (towelling). Peter Mundy (1632) says that it was a linen from Orissa (Oreshawe). Hammam is an Arabic word meaning 'both'; the linen was used as a bath-towel, sometimes also as a wrapper in the winter season, which Taylor describes "as a cloth of thick stout texture." These two linens were imported to Patna which the Patna factors sent to Agra factory (1) "Coarse white cloths were exported from lower Sindh, Orissa and other parts of the East Coast to many countries of Southern Asia and, in small quantities, to Japan and Europe" (2).

When Shaista Khan was about to conquer Chittagong (1665), he was getting ready a number of ships. He instructed Khan-i-Dauran, the Mughal Subahdar of Orissa (1660-67) to build ships for him at Balasore. The latter wrote a letter to Mahommad Jan, the foudar of South Orissa on the 28th December, 1664, asking him to supply the necessary provisions.

"The officers of the Imperial Government have reported that 210 *kudi* of cloth, of the *sahan*, *barbarah*, *do-suti* (3) and *thati* varieties, 20,000 maunds of rice, 300 maunds of mustard oil ('yellow oil'), 260 maunds of sesamum, and 100 maunds of *galmosafr* are required for provisioning the ships (of the State). According to the schedule attached to this letter, urge the officers of Jajpur, Bhadrak, and other mahals in your faujdari to get them ready quickly and send them before the sailing season to the port of Baleshwar to Muhammad Baqar, the darogha of ship construction. The price of these things will be deducted from the amount due from the *amlas*."

"The *amlas* should advance to the weavers, artisans, oil-vendors, etc., money for the things ordered. First settle the price with the help of the brokers. Then take bonds with the attestation of the brokers for the delivery

(1) I. H. Q. Vol. XII, pp. 643-45.

(2) Sir J. N. Sarkar—*Mughal Administration* (Second Series, 1925), pp. 75, 76.

(3) Wilson's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms* describes *do-suti* as a variety of cotton cloth having rough and fine yarns for warf and woof respectively and refers to *barbarah* as a type of cotton cloth, without describing it precisely.

of the goods in time. Send the *do-suti* before the other articles to the darogha that he may make sails with them. All the *kalapatis* and *najars*—master craftsmen and blacksmiths,—living at the port of Harishpur and other places, should be won over and sent to Baleshwar to engage in ship-building (for the Government) there" (4).

The English settlement on the coast of Orissa dates from the year 1633 when factories were started at Hariharpore and Balasore. Balasore was the port where all cargoes were received or shipped. The factors at Balasore made advance to weavers to provide cloth. About 1680 there was a serious dispute with them, for they declined to accept 'Ryalls of Eight' (Spanish dollars) instead of rupees as an advance on the cloth they had contracted to provide (5).

In the Record Room of the Collector of Cuttack we get a copy of the Temporary Regulations for the Department of Salt in the Province of Cuttack (transmitted to the Commissioners of Cuttack) for their guidance dated the 4th of May, 1804 and an extract from the Proceedings of the Honourable the Vice-President in Council in the Judicial Department under date the 5th of September, 1805, from which we get some important information. The average produce of Import and Export duties was 2434 rupees, expenditure 49 rupees, net balance 2385 rupees per mensem. "In the present state of the commerce of the Province of Cuttack, no great increase can be expected in this department (para 39).

We have however every reason to believe that a considerable quantity of cotton may be in time brought from the Territories of the Raja of Berar down the Mahanody river to Cuttack and a consequent increase will arise in this article (para 40).

It is well known that the Cuttack Province was seventy years ago famed for an excellent and extensive cloth manufacture; the English East India Company alone derived from it an annual Investment from 10 to 12 Lacs of Rupees. The Commercial Residency at Balasore was considered of such importance as to be held by a Member of the Council. It was not possible, however, that Establishments of the nature of manufactures could exist for a period of sixty years at the mercy of the Mahratta Government which, it is notorious, never considered personal or any other property that could be appropriated to itself as the right of the possessor, a principle that from the wide extent of their dominions and their predatory habits has rendered the accounts of the former wealth of India apparently fabulous. The cloth Manufacturers in particular have so far declined, that it will require several years to recover that important branch of the natural value of the Province, and we conceive the Experimental Investment which was conducted by Mr. Brown, will tend to corroborate this opinion."

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(4) Sarkar, J. N.—Studies in Mughal India, p. 218.

(5) I. A. 1923 (June), the *Scattergoods* and the *E. I. Co.*, p. 29.



In 1825 an earnest effort was made by Government to grow cotton in the district of Balasore, as will appear from the following correspondence :

To

W. Blunt, Esq., Commissioner,

From

C. R. Cartwright, Deputy Collector, Balasore.

Subject:—*The most desirable lands for the establishment of a cotton plantation in this District.* (He meets objections raised by the Sub-export-Warehouse keeper to the adoption of Mr. Wood's proposition)—

*Q. Whether certain lands in this District now useless could produce cotton.*

*Ans.* Persons residing near the lands of the description above-noticed who having received a few cotton seeds distributed 2 years ago sowed them on it say that the plants were healthy and they flourished.

*Q. 2. Whether requisite number of labourers could be procured to cultivate the ground?*

*Ans.* I do not apprehend any difficulty in procuring labourers, for not only could the natives of this district employ themselves most willingly in a Government-Establishment of the kind, but a great portion of those who annually wander from Cuttack to Calcutta would undoubtedly engage themselves in an employ so much nearer to their home.

*Q. 3. Whether it is possible to bring any cotton from Balasore to the Calcutta market without incurring enormous expense and great risk.*

*Ans.* The cotton being grown on the banks of a navigable river communicating with the sea a few miles from Balasore, it might of course be conveyed to the Calcutta market in hired provincial craft with equal facility and safety and at the same rate of freight at which salt and grain is now annually exported from Balasore to Calcutta instead of being liable to the objections stated. I would venture to urge the facility of a communication with the Calcutta market as one of the principal inducements to the establishment of a Government plantation.

"It is advisable to establish a plantation of their own."

Notwithstanding the undoubted capability of the Hill Lands (or rather those in the neighbourhood of the Hills) to produce the Bourbon cotton, though not available for any other species of cultivation, yet I am given to understand that any plant grown in such lands would be exposed to great injury or destruction by the numerous wild animals which inhabit the jungles in the vicinity and that it would almost be impossible to protect the young plants ; another objection is that of—distance of land carriage.

Convinced as I am of the advantages which would be derived to Government from the establishment of such a plantation in this district, I feel no hesitation in recommending the undertaking, and I would therefore suggest the propriety of my being authorised to enter into engagements with

the proprietors of the 100 Mauns above stated for a period of four years— But should the measure of establishing a Government farm at Balasore be deemed liable to objection or the result of the undertaking less certainly advantageous than I am inclined to believe, I beg to submit that understanding by certain resolutions of Government that the cultivation of coffee and the introduction of any new article of produce has been encouraged and Individuals in the service have been permitted to hold land for such purposes. I am desirous if it shall not be considered incompatible with my present official situation to establish an experimental plantation to the above extent at my own risk and expense."

(b) *Salt.*

There are 23 volumes of Salt Correspondence in the record room of the Collector of Balasore and 62 in that of the Collector of Cuttack. Obviously the subject requires a separate treatment. I will content myself with the following copy of statement in 1851 :

Statement showing the distribution of the fixed Taidad of 4,50,000 Mds. of salt of 1258 s.s. to be manufactured in the under-mentioned Aurungs of the Balasore Agency during season 1851-52—E.S.

Name of Aurungs.				Total Quantity of the salt to be manufactured.
Aurung Sartha	...	...	...	58,000
Do. Chennooah	...	...	...	42,000
Do. Dusmolung	...	...	...	90,000
Do. Paunchmolung	...	...	...	42,000
Do. Ankoorah	...	...	...	72,000
Do. Chooramun	...	...	...	73,000
Do. Dhamrah	...	...	...	73,000
Total Mds.				4,50,000

Balasore Salt Office  
The 9th August, 1851.

(Sd.) W. I. Allen,  
Salt Agent.

(c) *Indigo.*

Indigo was cultivated at Bellasore. In a letter dated the 5th January, 1816, Mr. I. F. Wilkinson, the planter, is asked to pay the duty due from him. In a letter of 6th February, 1819 written to P. Y. Lindsay he requests, in conformity with the decision of the Board of Revenue, to order the Darogah at Chokey Rajeghaut to abstain from stopping boats containing his indigo.

In a letter of 1829 there is mention of one Thomas Campbell, Englishman, who held 4,000 bighas of Indigo Establishment without permission.

(d) *Coffee.*

We find an application dated the 29th September, 1824 from I. A. Schultze, Superintendent of Embankments, Northern Division, Zila Cuttack to Holt Mackenzie, Esq., Secretary to Government, asking for lease of land for 99 years at the foot of Neelgeer hills to establish a coffee plantation, which was granted to him.

## B. FOREIGN RELATIONS AND PROPERTIES OF OTHER NATIONS AT BALASORE.

(a) *French.*

J. King wrote to John Thornhill, Secretary to the Board of Trade, Commercial Department, Fort William on the 19th December, 1806, reporting that "a two-masted vessel supposed to be a French privateer appeared off the mouth of the Balasore river on the 17th inst. The crew of the boat landed at Balramgurry proceeded to the top (?) of the Factory House, surveyed the channel of the river and the country, and made enquiries regarding the force at Balasore."

A letter from Mon. D. Dagot, Administrator, Chandernagor dated 7th August, 1817 to the Hon'ble W. Leslie, Melville, Joint Magistrate, Balasore : (Pages 7(a) and 7(b) of the original which are in French language have not been typed).

(b) *Dutch.*

The Dutch had their first settlement at Pippli, which they soon abandoned for Balasore. When they got a firm footing at Chinsura in 1653, they retained Balasore only for the convenience of the ships.

*Dutch Factories at Balasore.*

Regarding the properties of the Dutch at Balasore we have some interesting correspondence.

Dated Chinsurah the 2nd February, 1820 from the Hon'ble D. A. Overbeek, Esq., Resident at Chinsurah to W. L. Melville, Esq., Judge and Magistrate, Cuttack *re* the Netherlands territories in Mouzah of Oetler Nowapore Perg. of Sonhit from which the Netherlands Agent at Balasore has been dispossessed transmits him a copy of a letter from Governor General in Council dated the 2nd July, 1819 addressed to him *re* those grounds, from which Melville would observe that his Government had referred the Netherland authorities to their own local courts of law for the recovery of the lands.

Copy of a letter to the Hon'ble D. A. Overbeek.

*Para. 2.*—We are happy to perceive that arrangements relative to the Dutch factory at Balasore had been adjusted to your satisfaction.

*Para. 3.*—Relates to the restitution to the Netherlandish Government of lands situated in Mouza Oetler Nowapore in Perg. Sonhit.

There is some correspondence on the subject of transference of Dutch possessions to the British Government.

15/11/1824 from T. Pakenham Offg. Commissioner, Cuttack to W. Wilkinson, Esq., Collector, Balasore—asks him to hold himself prepared to assume charge of the Factory at Balasore on receipt of further instructions from Government.

(Copies) No. 121.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council in the Foreign Department, under date the 14th October, 1824.

Read a letter from the Honorable the Secret Committee dated 29th March, 1824 and its Enclosures, received from the Secret Department.

The Governor General in Council observes that until the definitive orders of the Honorable the Court of Directors relative to the Treaty recently concluded with the Government of the Netherlands shall have been received, the measures of Government must necessarily be limited to the transmission of such information and preparatory instructions respecting the approaching transfers as circumstances may immediately render advisable.

His Lordship in Council, remarks that a copy of the treaty received from the Secret Committee and of the Paper which accompanied it should be forwarded to the Government of Prince of Wales Island with a request that an agent may be held in readiness to proceed to Malacca for the purpose of receiving charge of that settlement, should such measure, be found necessary, on which point the Governor General in Council will be furnished with the further directions from Supreme Government as soon as the intentions of the Honorable the Court of Directors in regard to the settlement are known. A copy of the Treaty and of the papers connected with it should also be transmitted to the Resident at Singapore for his information.

With regard to the transfer of Bencoolen to the Netherland authorities, the Government expects more detailed instructions. The Acting Resident, however, should be similarly apprized of the Treaty without delay, and should be required to adopt arrangements for removing from Fort Marlborough all stores and property of value and abstain from making any further advances on account of Pepper or other articles of commerce which cannot be realised with security before the day of transfer. He should also be authorised to make it known in the first instance, that the interests of the Natives have not been forgotten in the intended transfer, and that the most positive assurances have been given by the Netherland authorities that they will respect those interests as established by the treaties of 1816—The disposal of the convicts at Bencoolen will occupy the attention of Government in the Judicial Department and the measures connected with the removal of the Troops from thence will be considered in the Military Department.

The arrangement of the details connected with the end Article comprising the various point of customs and duties will be adjusted in the Territorial

Department in which also the measures to be taken for the liquidations of the local debt and other points of financial character will be considered.

The Dutch possessions situated in Bengal and its immediate dependencies are the Town and Territory of Chinsurah and the Factories at Calcapore, Patna, Dacca, Fultah, and Balasore. His Lordship in Council observes that on the receipt of the expected instructions from the Honourable the Court of Directors Judge and Magistrate and the Collector of Hoogly may be directed to receive charge of chinsurah and its dependencies from the Dutch authorities the last mentioned officer taking possession under instruction from the Board of Revenue of all public lands and buildings and other public property and the collectors of the several districts in which the Factories above mentioned are situated may (then also) be similarly authorised to receive possession of them. The question as to how the public lands, buildings and other public property and the said settlement and factories shall be disposed of will be settled in the Territorial Department. The Legislative enactments which may (be) necessary to pass on the ultimate annexation of Chinsurah will be determined in the Judicial Department.

Ordered that copies of the Treaty and of the papers which accompanied it be transmitted to the Government of Fort St. George and Bombay and that copies of the Treaty and of the present resolutions be also recorded in the Judicial, Territorial and Military Departments, whence such further orders as may be necessary will be issued from those departments respectively.

(A True Extract)

(Signed) C. Lushington

Secretary to the Government

(No. 2.)

In the name of the Most Holy and undivided Trinity—

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the King of the Netherlands desiring to place upon a footing mutually beneficial to their respective possessions, and the commence of their subject in the East Indies so that the welfare and the prosperity of both Nations may be promoted in all time to come, without those differences and jealousies which have, in former times, interrupted the Harmony which ought always to subsist between them, and being anxious that all occasions of misunderstanding between their respective agents may be as much as possible, be prevented, and in order to determine certain questions, which have occurred in the execution of the conventions made at London on the 13th August, 1814, in so far as it respects the possession of his Netherlands Majesty in the East, have nominated their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, The Right Honorable George Canning, a member of His said Majesty's Honorable Privy Council, a member of Parliament and His said Majesty's

principal Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, and the Right Honourable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, a member of His said Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, a member of Parliament, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Montgomery Shire Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry, and President of His said Majesty's Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and His Majesty the King of Netherlands Baron Hanry Fagel, Member of the Equestrian Corps of the Province of Holland, Counsellor of State, knight Grand Cross of the Royal order of the Belgic Lion, and the Royal Guelphic Order, and Ambassa-Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary of His said Majesty. His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Arton Ranhard Falek, Commander of the Royal order of the Belgic Lion and His Majesty's Minister of the Department of Instruction, national Industry and Colonies, who after having mutually communicated their full powers, found in good and due form have agreed on the following articles :

Art. 1. Subjects to mutually trade in the Eastern Archipelago.

Arts. 2 & 3. Duties and Customs.

Art. 4. Authorities, civil and military, to respect freedom of Trade.

Art. 5. Repressing piracy in those seas.

Art. 6. No new settlements to be formed.

Art. 7. Molucca Islands, specially Amboyna, Banda, Ternate and their dependencies are excepted from the operation arts. 1-4, until Netherland Government abandon monopoly of spices.

Art. 8. His Netherland Majesty cedes to His Brittanic Majesty all his establishments on the continent of India, and renounces all privileges and exemptions enjoyed or claimed in virtue of those establishments.

Art. 9. The Factory of Fort Marlborough, all the English possessions on the Island of Sumatra are hereby ceded to His Netherland Majesty ; and His Brittanic Majesty further engages that no British Settlement shall be formed on that Island, nor any treaty concluded by the British authority with Native Prince, Chief or state therein.

Art. 10. Town, and fort of Malacca and dependencies ceded to His Brittanic Majesty.

Art. 11. His Brittanic Majesty withdraws objection to the occupation of the Island of Billiton and dependencies by agents of Netherland Government.

Art. 12. His Netherland Majesty withdraws objection to occupation of the Island of Singapore by subjects of His Brittanic Majesty. No British Establishment to be made on the Carimon Island and Island of Batam, Bintang, or other island.

Art. 13. Delivery of all possessions on the 1st March 1825.

Art. 14. Inhabitants for 6 years of the date of ratification of the Treaty may dispose of property as they like.

Done at London the Seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight Hundred and twenty four.

Signatures.

There is an extract from a letter in Dutch written by the Dutch Government at Chinsura respecting a certain tract of land at Balasore, forwarding a document executed in 1664 and translated in Dutch in 1771. "It is the result of an inquest, showing, by the testimony of many notable persons of Balasore, that a certain tract of land, the position of which is here given, belongs to the English, they having purchased it long before from a Portuguese, who himself held it from the Dutch. Getranslateekd 10th July, 1771.

(Miekbendek, seig Sehaabud dien Broedin ran de kaji Aelbislulla  
Mirza Mahmud Zeman)

Extract from Proceedings of the Right Honourable the Governor General  
in Council in Foreign Department 23/6/1825.

Extract from Letter from the Commissioner at Chinsurah dated 30/5/1825."

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There is a statement of lands transferred from the Netherland to British Government on the 6th June, 1825 in a tabular form in the following columns—Name of occupant, caste, family, description of land, quantity of land, Jummah Several castes have been mentioned—Mungutjan, Soonree, Goalah, Rahree, Portuguese, Brahmin, Musulman, Cawoot, Chussah, Bustom, Barai, Gooreah, (?) Moothee, Kandra, Hanree, Dhobee, Teelee, Tamlee, Bhandari.

*The statement includes wasteland.*

In a letter dated the 4th August, 1825, C.R. Cartwright submits to W. Blunt, Commissioner, Cuttack, a detailed statement of lands (as ascertained by actual measurement) lately transferred from the Dutch to the British Government.

"The whole of the property so transferred consists of that description of land called Dehee or Building ground and that the rates of rent at which it has hitherto been leased out to individuals are of a very fair and equitable nature no alteration is necessary in the present tenures—except that new pottah be given to the respective tenant for a yearly lease (instead of monthly).

With regard to the Factory House and Garden attached I have only to remark that it is in a very ruinous and delapidated state, such as to preclude the possibility of its being converted to any use, and I would beg, therefore, to recommend that it be rented out in small portions to such persons as may be willing to engage for it in like manner with the rest of the property."

(C) *Danish.*

There was a Danish factory at Balasore. There is reference to it in the Cuttack Records (V. 277, Collector) where a complaint is made that the unsatisfactory sale of opium was due to the fact that the Dutch and Danish factories at Balasore were selling it at reduced rates. (August and September 1817). In 1845, all the territory in India belonging to the Danes, viz., Tranquebar, Serampore and a piece of ground at Balasore was sold to the English East India Company for twelve and half lacs of rupees (6).

We have a reference to the transference of the Danish factory in a letter written by F. Lowth, Collector, to the Commissioner of Revenue, Cuttack under date the 30th August, 1847 wherein he replies to allegations made against him in a petition by Gokool Beharee Koond Mookhtear whom he dismissed—"On the Danish Factory coming under the jurisdiction of British Government and after a settlement according to Reg. VII of 1822 had been completed, farming engagements were invited. Muddoosoodun Kur, Muddun Mohan Mahapater and Nurhuree Naik & Co., presented petitions and on these papers being produced before me on the 16th January, 1847, I after mature deliberation farmed the Estate to Muddun Mohan Mahapater."

## C. PORT OF BALASORE AND PORT DUTIES.

Lt. Col. G. Harcourt Commg. in Cuttack and Commissioner for the affairs of Cuttack wrote a letter dated 15th January, 1804 to Captain Thomas Morgan at Balasore regarding collection of port Duties directing that they should be separated from other sources of revenue. ". . . nor is it necessary for me to add, that the most pointed regulations of British Government have been from time to time issued, abolishing all duties deemed oppressive, and prohibiting the collection of unauthorised duties in the most peremptory manner.

The duties which I believe have been sanctioned and collected by Government are on all articles except grain ; on spirituous liquors, intoxicating drugs, ganja etc., they direct as heavy a duty to be levied as possible, with a view to preclude immoderate use of those articles.

The amount of the sea customs, or port duties for the present should be  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  on the mooring with the exception of grain in toto, and of salt shipped for the Government."

Robert Ker took over the charge of the office of the Collector of Customs from Captain Morgan in 1804, and made it over to J. King in 1806 on the 23rd January, 1806.

In volume no. 511 (Cuttack Collector) there is an interesting letter.

To Robert Ker, Judge and Magistrate, Balasore.

I am directed by H. E. the Most Noble the Governor General in Council to acquaint you that it is the intention of the Right Hon'ble Lord William Bentinck,



Governor of Fort St. George to leave Fort William in the course of 2 or 3 days on his return to Madras by Dauk, by the route of Cuttack.

2. He is requested to afford his Lordship all assistance.

Lord William Bentinck was Governor of Madras from 1803 to 1807.

King wrote a letter dated the 25th April, 1807 to George Udny, president and Members of the Board of Revenue, Fort William about the condition of commerce in Cuttack Province.

" . . . . But from the best information I have been able to obtain, it appears that the commerce of Cuttack is, at present, inconsiderable, and that no very great increase in the Revenue arising from the collection of Government customs can be expected from some years to come.

Enclosure no. 2 contained a list of the principal articles of merchandise that formed the Imports and exports of the Northern Division of Cuttack.

Para 3.— . . \* I am of opinion that the collection of Government customs and port Duties, in the Northern Division of Cuttack, should be confined to the town of Balasore, and the ports of Balasore, Lochunpoor, Chooramconee and Dhaumrah, and that the internal commerce and merchandise passing the Western Frontier should be exempt from duties . . . . . I am informed that under the Maharatta Government, duties were levied on all merchandise @ 1 anna per Rupee or 6¼ per cent. . . .

. . . . . The duties levied in Cuttack by the British Government are very moderate in comparison with what used formerly to be collected under the Mahratta Government, and the merchants appear so well satisfied with the present rate of assessment that it, perhaps, may not be considered necessary to forego this source of public revenue."

On the 20th of August, 1809 he wrote a letter to Charles Buller, Commissioner for settling the Revenue of Cuttack regarding regulation of customs and suggesting certain amendments of Rules, proposed to be adopted in Cuttack modifying "Rules for the collection of Customs and Town Duties in Bengal."

King made over the charge of his office to C. Becher in March, 1812.

From a letter written in 1816 to J. P. Warde, Acting Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort William, we learn: "The value of almost every article is regulated by the Book of Rates, which is in fact the actual selling price of goods in the bazar Balasore (with the exception of long cloths and syarees, the manufacture of Ingeram and other places on the coast) . . . . ."

C. Becher, Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties, Balasore received an extract of Rates of Articles dated the 19th March 1819.

					Rs.
Sugar finer sort	...	...	...	...	8/-
Coarse	...	...	...	...	5/-
Jagree	...	...	...	...	2/-
Oils	...	...	...	...	7/-
Oil seeds	...	...	...	...	2/-
Saltpetre culmee	...	...	...	...	6/-
„ Kulie and Abeer	...	...	...	...	4/-

J. H. Doyly, collector of Government Customs, Balasore forwards. (23rd December, 1823) to W. H. Oakes, Esq., Account, Revenue Department, Fort William, a statement :

Statement of duties collected on Piece Goods, Raw Cotton and Silk, the manufacture and produce of the Company's territories from 1809/10 to 1822/23.

Year.	Quantity.	Value.	Rate of duty.	Under what Regulation.	Amount of duty.	Remarks on causes of fluctuation.
1811/12	... 1,27,503½	1,49,177	@7/2%	1810	11,182/12/7	—

He reports that the trade in 1827 was trifling. 9/11/1827—to John Trotter, Secretary to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, Fort William from J. H. D'Oyly, C.G.C.

—forwards a corrected statement of the proposed alterations in the Book of Rates at the Custom House.

2nd para—with reference to the 4th paragraph I beg to observe that the trade here is so trifling and that the merchants and people in general so poor that few if any articles of the first quality are ever brought here for sale, for instance the saltpetre sold in the Bazar is almost all of one sort and the small quantities of the Culmee and Cuttes kind not being in demand sell for the price as the aubee viz., 8 annas per maund. 3rd para—All coconut oil also sells at the price of 15 rupees in the bazar.

4th para—on the cotton I find upon enquiry the duty has been levied at 12 annas per md. for cleaned cotton and 4 annas or 5 per cent for uncleaned agreeably to schedule III, Regulation 15 of 1825.

H. W. Parker, Secretary, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, in a letter dated the 29th November, 1828, sends an extract of the Resolution of the Board of Customs.

“Para. 14, Indigo owing to this excellence of its quality which is not yet revealed by the produce of other countries is the only one of our staple article that still maintains its ground and in the Receipt from this article there will be found a considerable increase on the close of the year's accounts, as the season for its growth was very favourable the crop having been estimated by Fy maunds 1,35,000 while that of the year previous produced only Fy maunds 90,101.

15. Cotton another of our staples was in little demand, it has been supplanted either by the produce of America, Bourbon and Surat or by the markets abroad being over stocked with supplies of former years. Its growth in our provinces has failed . . . .”

From a letter to the Right Hon'ble Lord Auckland, C.G., C.B., Governor General of India and Governor of Bengal written by C. D'Oyly and H. W.

Parker on the 31st March, 1836 it appears that no provision appeared to be necessary on account of Town Duties, the levy of which tax never existed at Balasore. The Commissioner of the 19th Division wrote that it would be necessary to maintain an establishment at Balasore only for Sea Customs—at a monthly charge of Rs. 182/- per mensem including Rs. 80/- for the Master Attendant at Balasore, whom the Board recommended being attached to the Department as Assistant to the Collectors of Customs, while the latter appointment should, they conceive, be continued as well as the entire control of the establishment in the person of the Collector of Land Revenue at Balasore.

A sample is given of comparative statement of Receipts and Disbursement of every description of the Sea Custom House at Balasore from May, 1836 to April 1838.

PARTICULARS. <i>Receipts.</i>	In 1836/37	In 1837/38	Increase 1837/38	Decrease 1837/38.
Duty realised on Imports ...	762 13 11	1,184 13 4	421 15 5	—
Ditto on Exports ...	71 15 5	213 11 10	141 12 5	—
Sale on confiscated goods ...	—	—	—	—
Fines ...	—	122 13 5	122 13 5	—
Miscellaneous ...	605 6 8½	363 14 5	—	241 8 3½
	1,440 4 0½	1,885 5 0	686 9 3	241 8 3½

*Disbursement and charges:*

Fixed Establishments ...	2,036 15 5½	2,184 0 0	148 15 5½	—
Charges on Confiscations ...	—	—	—	—
Contingent charges ...	48 15 10½	68 14 9	19 14 10½	—
	2,085 15 4	2,252 14 9	168 14 4	—

Excess Disbursement Cs. Rs. ...	645 11 3½	367 9 9	—	—
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Zn. Balasore Sea Custom House, the 10th December,  
Sd./- E. DEPTON, C.C.

A copy of the Regulation relating to the trade of foreign ships with India is contained in Vol. 92.

Traders from the Maldivé and Laccadive islands used to come to Balasore and care was taken to afford them all facilities of trade.

Translation of letter from Maldivé Sultan. 15/11/1824—to W. Wilkinson, Esq., Joint Magistrate at Balasore from T. Pakenham, Commissioner, Cuttack.

“—I beg leave to transmit a translation of a letter in the Arabic language, received from the Sultan of the Maldivé Islands representing the difficulties experienced by the inhabitants of them resorting to Balasore for purpose of trade and as it is extremely desirable that every source of traffic with this Province should be cultivated and encouraged, and not less a matter of justice that Foreigners resorting to our Ports should receive every facility in carrying on the commercial transactions, I have to request you will in co-operation with the Collector of Government Customs afford every assistance to the people of that nation in the disposal of the articles of commerce

brought by them and prevent any undue influence or unwarrantable interference in their affairs so far as may (be) consistent with your duty under the General regulations and that you will cause it to be explained to the inhabitants of Maldiv Islands at present at Balasore that instructions to the above effect have been furnished to you."

There is mention of a Laccadive boat, named Khoda Salmuttee, commanded by Hassan Nakhoda, in a letter written to H. Manning, Collector of Government of Customs, under date the 7th January, 1822.

In a letter dated the 28th March, 1832 Alfred Bond, Assistant Master Attendant at Balasore, writes a letter to Nocoda Mossagee Chumjee, Moulmein, forwarding him lists of wrecked property appertaining to Nocada Mossagee Ebramjee from the loss of the *Lady Barlow*.

#### D. *Wild Beasts at Balasore.*

There is an ample correspondence to show that Orissa was infested with wild beasts early in the nineteenth century. G. Graeme, Collector, Zilah Juggunnath, writes to T. Fortescue, Esq., Secretary to the Commissioners, Cuttack on the 14th February, 1805 "that bears and hyenas are numerous and destructive in this division" and enquires whether he should pay to the *Shikaries* the same amount for their heads as for tigers (coll. Vol. 349 ; Com., Vol. 8).

A reward of Rs. 5/- was paid for each head of tiger and bear. An account dated the 10th August, 1815 shows the payment of Rs. 700/- for 140 tigers, and Rs. 70/- for 14 bears, another statement for February, March, and April, 1817 dated 28th May, 1817 shows that for 35 tigers a sum of Rs. 175/- and 32 cubs (@ Rs. 2/8/-) Rs. 80/ was paid, a third statement of 1818 shows that a reward of Rs. 80/- for 13 tigers and 6 cubs was paid. Receipts had to be taken from the *Shikaries* and certificates granted. Here is a sample :

I do hereby certify that all the tiger's heads charged in the above statement have been carefully examined by me and I am satisfied that none of them was factitious nor for which the Government rewards have been before paid. These heads were all examined (I conclude).

Balasore,  
Govt. Custom House,  
The 12th November, 1818.

(Sd.) W. Dent,  
Ag. C.G.C.

Thomas Pakenham sends to W. Dent, Actg. C.G.C. Balasore an order for Rs. 135/- for tiger heads. In a letter dated the 24th May, 1828 he writes the following letter to Rickets, Collector of Balasore "Four tigers' heads were paid for by Mr. Patton @ Rs. 10/- each, and no authority has been furnished for the charge at the higher rate, report under what circumstances, the rewards in question which are double the amount authorised were paid."

K. P. MITRA,

## The Select Committee in Bengal and its Conflict with the Council in 1770.

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THE East India Company had devised an organisation that was suited for a commercial corporation. This organisation was, in the middle of the 18th Century, called upon to take part in political affairs, wield armies and administer territories. That the Company's administration in the different Indian presidencies was unsuited to the new task was patent on various occasions, and the problem of its adjustment to the altered conditions was constantly in the minds of the Court of Directors. Particularly in 1756 and in 1757 the Court of Directors were recommending various experimental measures for the administration of the Indian presidencies. It was the fear of an attack from an European power which first frightened the Directors into attempting to re-organise the governments in their settlements in India. The relations between the French and the English in the early months of 1756 was on the breaking point, and later on in the year began the Seven Years War. Under these circumstances the Directors decided to institute in Bengal a body smaller than the Council for quicker and more efficient despatch of business. On the 11th February 1756 the Court of Directors wrote to Bengal "As the present situation of affairs requires a more than ordinary vigilance to preserve and protect our estate, rights and privileges in Bengal we have thought proper to appoint and do accordingly hereby constitute Roger Drake, Esq., or the President of Fort William for the time being, Lieutenant Col. Stringer Lawrence when in Bengal, Mr. William Watts or the Second in Council for the time being, Mr. Charles Manningham and Mr. Richard Becher, to be a Select Committee to transact affairs with the country government and neighbouring powers, also with the French and Dutch and other Europeans and in general to take such measures as shall best conduce to the protection and preservation of the Company's estate, rights and privileges in Bengal, but they are not to disburse any of the Company's treasure or cash without the concurrence of the majority of the Council duly summoned"(1).

Two days later. the Secret Committee of the Directors addressed the members of the Select Committee pointing out the danger from the French and directing them "to put the settlement in the best posture of defence you can, that you be constantly vigilant and concert the properest measures for its security. . . ."(2). On the 25th May 1756 the Directors com-

(1) Directors to Bengal—11 Feb. 1756—Letters from Europe to the Select Com. Imperial Record Department, No. 23 page 8.

(2) Secret Com. of Directors to Bengal—13 Feb. 1756 Idem p. 2.

municated to the governor of Fort William the news of the declaration of war against the French and enjoyed that the Select Committee must consult the Council as a whole "on all occasions that require it", and the Council was "to have every information laid before them that shall be necessary for their forming such resolutions as shall best conduce to the common good of the Company in this dangerous and critical situation"(3).

On receipt of the news of the expulsion of the English from Calcutta by the nawab of Bengal and their subsequent reconquest of that place, the Directors in their letter dated 11th Nov. 1757(4) communicated to their servants in Bengal a fresh scheme for the administration of their presidency of Fort William. "For ordering, governing and managing all the Company's affairs at Fort William" a board consisting of the twelve persons named in the despatch was constituted(5). Of these the first four, "Mr. Watts, Mr. Manningham, Mr. Becher and Mr. Howell are to be each of them President of the said Council and governor of and for all the Company's affairs in Bengal for the term of four months, Mr. Watts is to have the first term to commence upon the receipt hereof, upon the expiration of which first term of four months, then Mr. Manningham to be President for the like term and in this manner they are to succeed each other alterately;—On Mr. Manningham's taking the chair Mr. Watts is to take place as Second, upon Mr. Becher's taking the chair Mr. Watts takes rank as Second, Mr. Manningham as third and so on(6). The intention of the Directors to subordinate the military officers to the civil was shown by the provision that Major James Kilpatrick was to be fifth in the Council and was never to rise higher(7). No fresh member was to be added to the Council until its number was reduced to less than nine excluding Major Kilpatrick (8).

This despatch also provided for a Select Committee "to transact affairs with the country government, and other matters which require secrecy". The four gentlemen who were named to be presidents in rotation were to form the Select Committee and also to preside in that committee alternately for four months in the same system of rotation. Major Kilpatrick was to sit in the committee as the fifth member only when military affairs were under consideration(9). The functions of the Select Committee were to be "the transacting and negotiating matters with the European and Indian powers, so far as secrecy is absolutely necessary and not otherwise, also the concerting the necessary plans and measures for military operations to be laid before the President and Council for their determination and ordering them to be carried into execution, if approved of, . . . ." The Select Committee was to use its discretion as to what matters required

(3) Secret Committee of Directors to Roger Drake, Esq., 25 May 1756 Idem p. 6.

(4) Public General letters from Court of Directors Vol. No. 1—I. R. D.

(5) Ibid Para 45.

(6) Ibid Para 46.

(7) Ibid Para 45.

(8) Ibid Para 47.

(9) Ibid Paras 49 & 50

secrecy. It was enjoined however that "nothing is to be concealed from the President and Council, but what in its nature and circumstances ought to be really secret, and might be prejudicial to the Company if discovered for a time at least, in consequence whatever matters and transactions are not of a secret nature must stand upon your consultations, and be advised to us in your general letter and the rest must be communicated by the Select Committee to our Secret Committee (10).

The system of appointing governors from among the Council in rotation was however soon abandoned. The Directors in their letter dated 8th March, 1758, appointed Clive to be sole president and governor of Fort William in case it should suit him to continue in India. Clive was also appointed to be "the chief and constant presiding member" of the Select Committee. In case he desired to return to England or in case of his death, the system of rotation was again to take place (11). A few days after the despatch of these instructions a meeting of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company annuled the rotation system and resolved that "each of the Company's principal settlements continue to be as heretofore governed and directed by a president and council." The Select Committee was continued (12). A letter from the Court of Directors to Bengal dated 11th April, 1758 ordered that the Select Committee was to consist of five persons viz. Clive, Watts, Kilpatrick, Manningham and Becher. Vacancies to the Committee were to be filled up by such persons as the President and Select Committee should think fit (13). This Select Committee functioned till December, 1762. After 28th December, 1762 there are no Select Committee proceedings till 7th May, 1765, when a fresh one was created to assist Clive in his second term of administration. The Select Committee was as a matter of fact not abolished formally in 1763 but the Council as a whole absorbed the special powers that belonged to it. This led to confusion, and for the better transaction of business it was decided that, though no separate Committee would be created, the whole Council should transact its business in separate departments,—the secret and the public departments. In the Public Proceedings of 3rd Nov. 1763 we have the following plan proposed by the Secretary "for the better regulating and transacting the business of Council at the Presidency of Fort William.

First—The business shall be divided into two departments, the one to be termed the public and the other the secret department.

2ndly—In the publick department shall be carried on all affairs relating to shipping, revenues, fortifications, accounts, appointment of servants etc.

3rdly—In the secret department shall be conducted all military plans and operations, the country correspondence and all transactions with the country government.

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(10) Ibid Para 52.

(11) Directors to Bengal—8 March, 1758. Idem Paras 4, 5 & 6.

(12) Directors to Bengal—23rd March, 1758. Idem. Paras 1-6.

(13) Ibid Para 3.

4thly—Distinct books of minutes, consultations and letters shall therefore be kept . . . . .”(14).

There was to be one Secretary and one Assistant Secretary but separate sub-secretaries and assistants for the two departments(15).

The Council approved the plan and resolved that the new arrangement was to come into operation from 1st January, 1764(16).

So important however was the need for bifurcating its proceedings that the Council started consultations in their secret department from the 8th December, 1763(17).

It was by the Directors' letter dated 9th May, 1765 that the Select Committee, instituted by the orders of 11th Nov. 1757, was abolished. The Directors wrote, "Having taken into consideration the powers with which the Select Committee at our several presidencies have been invested we have thought proper entirely to annihilate and abolish them and the said Committee is accordingly upon the receipt of this letter to be laid aside and abolished at our presidency of Fort William. The like orders to go to our other presidencies(18)." This letter also brought to Bengal the news of Lord Clive's fresh appointment as President and governor of Fort William.

A few days later the Directors proceeded to create another Select Committee. In their despatch dated 1st June, 1764 they informed Bengal that, "The intention of the General Court in desiring Lord Clive to go to Bengal was that by his lordship's character and influence peace and tranquility might be the easier restored and established in that subahship, in order therefore to answer these purposes in a manner that we apprehended may prove most effectual we have thought proper to appoint a Committee on this occasion consisting of his lordship" and Messrs. Sumner, Carnac, Verelst and Sykes, "to whom we hereby do give full powers to pursue whatever means they shall judge most proper to attain those desirable ends.—But, however, in all cases, where it can be done conveniently, the Council at large is to be consulted by the said Committee, though the power of determining is to be in that Committee alone. We further direct that as soon as peace and tranquility are restored and re-established in the subahship of Bengal, then the said extraordinary powers are immediately to cease and the said Committee be dissolved."(19). The Committee was to consist of five members, and vacancies were to be filled up by co-option(20). It was further ordered that ". . . the said Committee is to be the Committee for defending the settlement in case of being attacked by an enemy, agreeable

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(14) Public Proceedings No. 22—I. R. D. p. 1311.

(15) *Idem.* p. 1312.

(16) *Idem.* p. 1314.

(17) *Idem.* p. 1453.

(18) Directors to Bengal—9 May, 1765. Bengal Public letters from Court of Directors—I R. D. No. 7. Para 36.

(19) Directors to Bengal—1 June 1764, *Idem.* Para 67.

(20) Para 68.



to the directions and rules laid down in our letter of the 12th May, 1758 . . . ." (21).

The appointment of a Select Committee with extraordinary powers to assist Clive was fully justified by events. All the resources that he could command were required by him to suppress abuses and enforce discipline in the Company's ranks. Needless to say that the Select Committee was viewed with extreme jealousy by the Company's servants. The Directors fully realised the useful purpose served by the Committee and though the immediate object of its institution had been achieved and Clive had left the shores of India, they confirmed the Select Committee, in their letter of 12th January, 1768, but with somewhat reduced powers. They wrote, "We have experienced such great advantage from the establishment of a Select Committee that, although the ends for which it was first instituted are happily obtained by the establishing of peace, tranquility and subordination, yet we find the nature of those important charges which now fall under the management of our servants requires that they should be conducted by a small number, and we therefore confirm the Select Committee, and their department and powers are to be as follows:—

"They are to conduct everything that relates to the country government, either with respect to the Duanee or the Company's political interests with the neighbouring powers together with the military operations depending thereon. They are to negotiate with the Soubah and the country powers, but to conclude no treaty of commerce or alliance without the approbation of the Council at large. They are to superintend the collection of the revenues arising from the Duanee, but without the power of disbursing them, nor do the revenues arising from the Company's other possessions fall under this jurisdiction, their general superintending power ceased with the abuses that gave rise to that power with which they were entrusted; and all other branches of the Company's affairs fall under the general department." The Committee was to consist of five persons including the President and the military officer in command. The Directors added, "We have in the foregoing paragraph directed that the military operations shall be conducted under the orders of the Select Committee but the supreme military power is vested in the board at large conformable to the usual practice" (22).

On the 30th June, 1769 the Directors addressed to the Council at Fort William, one of their most famous despatches which was carried to Bengal by a specially chartered ship, the *Lapwing*. The Directors had realised that it was no longer wise to remain indifferent to the responsibilities which the Diwani had placed on their shoulders, and decided that "a patient and moderate exertion of the powers invested in us by the grant of the Dewanee" was necessary. They therefore fixed a "plan of reformation", which included

(21) Para 69. Para 20 of the Directors letter referred to provided for a Committee to constitute the military government of the settlement in case of its being attacked.

(22) Firminger—Introduction to the Fifth Report, pp. CLXIII—CLXIV, Cambray's Edn.

the establishment of two Committees for the management of the Diwani revenues, one for Bengal and the other for Behar. Vansittart, Serafton and Forde were appointed Commissioners to come over to India and carry out the orders. The Commissioners were to have special powers. "You are to understand", the Directors wrote, "that the government of all the settlements is left in its usual course and channel, but the Commissioners have a Superintending and controuling power over the whole in like manner as if we the Court of Directors were ourselves present upon the spot; . . . They will advise with you so far as they judge necessary upon the several matters which they shall be instructed or shall think fit to take under their consideration; and, . . . they will explain more particularly our designs and wishes, which we are persuaded you will adopt upon conviction, without putting them to the necessity of making use of the authority with which they are invested" (23)"

In a subsequent despatch the Court of Directors decided that besides carrying out the plan for revenue reform, the Commissioners were to give effect to new rules defining the constitution and functions of the Council and Select Committee. These rules laid down that the Council was to consist of nine members including the governor and the military commander; that with the exception of the Resident at the Durbar and the military commander, all members of the Council were to reside in Calcutta and not hold any other station; and that the governor, the military commander and three senior members of Council were to constitute a Select Committee "with power to make regulations concerning peace and war, and negotiate with the country powers, but not finally to conclude any treaty until the terms and conditions of such treaty shall have been first approved by our Governor and Council". "The Governor singly shall correspond with the country powers" but all such correspondence were to be placed before the Select Committee for their consideration (24).

The Commissioners embarked on the 'Aurora' in September, 1769 and reached the Cape of Good Hope in December. After she left the Cape the 'Aurora' was heard of no more. The Company's servants at Fort William however remained in daily expectation of the arrival of the Commissioners, and allowed six months to elapse after the receipt of the despatch of 30th June, 1769 without doing anything to give effect to the orders of the Court. They would not have allowed such a long time to pass had not the orders of the Directors addressed to the Council led to confusion as to whether the Council or the Select Committee was to carry them out in the absence of the Commissioners. At last on 19th June, 1770 the Council proceeded to take the matter into their consideration. On that date we have the following minutes of consultation entered in the proceedings of the Council. "Some of the members of the Board being of opinion that by the orders of the Hon'ble Court of Directors in their

(23) Paras 13-38, Firminger—Introduction to Fifth Report, pp. clxix-clxxiv.

(24) Directors to Bengal, 23rd March, 1770. Paras 179-180 ap. Firminger—Introduction to Fifth Report, pp. clxxiv-clxxv.

general letters of the 30th June, 1769 per Lapwing it is their intention to have the management of the Dewanne (sic) revenues in future under the direction of the Council ; and being desirous in consequence of having it determined how far their authority in the management of the Company's affairs and how far the authority of the Select Committee may extend

"Agreed that these matters be taken into consideration on Wednesday next, the 27th instant"(25).

This resolution of the Council led to consternation among the members of the Select Committee who met two days later on the 21st June to enter their protest against it. It was contended that the Council was not competent to discuss the Committee's authority, that the jurisdiction over Diwani matters conferred on the Committee by the Directors' letter of 12th January, 1768 had not been taken away by any subsequent order, that, far from the Directors revoking their powers, they had in a recent despatch asked the Select Committee to assist the Commissioners in their deliberations if called upon, and that the Directors had never authorized the Council to take upon themselves the management of the Diwani revenues. The Select Committee resolved :

1. "That the 9th and 10th paragraphs of the General Letter dated 12th January, 1768 do define the respective departments of the Council and Committee with a precision which needs no elucidation and an accuracy which requires no amendment.

2. "That in no subsequent letters are the powers there delegated revoked abridged or in any respect altered, either directly or indirectly by absolute expression or any the most distant implication.

3. "That if any arguments are drawn in prejudice to the Committee's powers from the stile of the Company's letter per Lapwing which addressed the Council on the subject of the revenue, such arguments are hasty and inconclusive because it is usual with the Court of Directors to address the Committee through the channel of the board—evidently without intention to weaken or diminish any part of the delegated powers of the Committee by so doing, and leaving to the Council and Committee the task of separating what belongs to each, examples of which (without including variety of others which might be produced) are sufficiently confirmative, viz., in paragraphs 58, 59 and 60 of the General letter dated 16th March, 1768 the Council are reprehended for acts of the Committee.

"In paragraph 64 they say, 'In our letter to your Select Committee we desired you would', etc.

"In paragraph 108 they express hopes that a re-imbursement of the difference of the expenses of the 3rd brigade and the sums stipulated to be paid by the King and Shujadowlah have been obtained.

"In paragraph 12 of General Letter of 11th May, 1769, 'There is another part of your conduct that we disapprove, we mean your application to the King for a blank firman for the Decan'.

4. "That this has hitherto been the construction of the Council themselves whose constant practice was to transmit to the Committee extracts from their letters of all such matters as they deemed cognisable by the Committee and consequently no new construction can consistently be put on the stile of the Lapwing's letter.

5. "That the very existence of the Committee is affected by this motion of the Council, since the same mode of implication by which they question our right of superintendence over the revenue may be applied also to all political transactions over which we have equally an undoubted and constitutional authority.

6. "That the reformation mentioned to be intended in the administration of the revenue in fact respect neither the Committee nor Council but is apparently meant to be put in execution by the Commissioners who were then on their departure from England but that should the Commissioners meet with an accident or the Directors not think fit to explain the instructions which the Commissioners have received, it rests with the Select Committee alone to be the executors of these orders because their powers as stated in the 9th and 10th paragraphs of the General Letter of the 12th January, 1768 are no where repealed because in the subsequent letter by the Houghton the Select Committee is ordered to assist the Commissioners with their advice if called on, therefore could not be supposed to be annihilated by the orders of the Lapwing—and restored by the Houghton and also for the reasons assigned in resolution the 2nd.

7. "That it is contrary to every form and rule and precedent to suppose that the Court of Directors had they intended a revision or abridgement of the powers of the Committee would have left their sentiments on so important and delicate a subject to be collected from loose, unconnected hints, interspersed up and down their letter, nor is it for the same reasons proper or regular when orders have been in one place clearly conveyed to strain meanings in support of an attempt to destroy the virtue of such orders.

8. "That this Committee deem themselves to all intents and purposes as legally and constitutionally invested with the powers granted in the 9th and 10th paragraphs of the letter of 12th January 1768 as they ever were and therefore not amenable to the Council for the exercise thereof, nor liable to be deprived thereof by any but the Commissioners when they arrive, or if they do not arrive, the Court of Directors who conferred the said powers.

9. "That from a sense both of honour and duty and from a necessary regard to the good order and prosperity of the Company's affairs . . . . they will uphold and maintain their authority without diminution notwithstanding any resolutions or proceedings of the board to the contrary" (26).

In accordance with the resolution of the 19th June the Council met on the 27th June. Mr. Cartier, the President, and Mr. Russell, a member of

the Select Committee, at the very outset warned the Council not to cross their legitimate jurisdiction and to enter into any discussion of the powers of the Select Committee (27). The Council however decided by a majority of votes that the subject should be debated (28), notwithstanding their finding that the Directors' orders of the 12th January, 1768 had not been repealed. The discussion took the form of questions put to the board mainly by Barwell, and answers given by members belonging to the Council and by those who were of the Select Committee. Barwell declared that the subject for consideration was not the powers of the Select Committee. He contended that every member of the Council was responsible to the Directors for the execution of their orders. As such they could not very well say that only some among them, i.e., those who constituted the Select Committee, should carry out the orders. As against this, members of the Select Committee argued that a "member of the Council is responsible only for the execution of such orders as the Court of Directors have pointed out to be within his department" and "the Board cannot therefore be deemed responsible for what evidently does not relate to them." Nevertheless the majority decided that every member is responsible for the execution of the Court's orders to the President and Council (29). Barwell's next contention was that it was absurd to suppose that the Directors would give orders to be executed by servants who did not have the power to obey them. In spite of Cartier's reply that there were instances when the Directors had dealt with matters which related to the Committee in their general letters to the Board, the majority resolved that orders addressed to the President and Council were to be executed by that body, and this would be acting in accordance with what appeared to be the intentions of the Court (30). Barwell then asked whether the general supervising power of which the Select Committee had been divested by the Court's letter of January, 1768 had not naturally devolved again to the Council. On behalf of the Select Committee Floyer argued that "when the Court of Directors thought it unnecessary to continue to the Select Committee their general superintending powers, they did not vest the Council with them. Therefore as in the very letter which deprived the Committee of their extra powers an exact line was drawn between the Council and Committee, I am of opinion that a superintending power is vested in each department and that no general one is intended." The majority however entered on record their opinion that "as the general supervising power is withdrawn from the Committee, the Council are in consequence vested therewith" (31). The Council also resolved that the Committees of Revenue at Murshidabad and Patna were to be appointed by themselves and to be under their jurisdiction (32). Barwell then tried to tie down the Select Committee to the

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(27) Secret Proceedings—I. R. D. No. 6 pp. 21-22.

(28) *Idem.* p. 44.

(29) *Idem.* pp. 47-50.

(30) *Idem.* pp. 50-52.

(31) *Idem.* pp. 57-58.

(32) *Idem.* p. 61.

decisions of the Council. He enquired, "whether the minority after the sentiments of the members have been given are bound to act agreeably to the sense of the majority." Floyer contended that the Select Committee were not bound by the decisions of the majority of the Council in matters in which the Committee alone were concerned. The majority voted in favour of Barwell(33).

In the course of a rather lengthy minute Reed summed up the case for the Council. All the points raised in the course of the discussions on Barwell's questions were now put together. Reed pointed out that after the Select Committee was deprived of their supervising powers a Secret Department of the Council was formed and it was decided to refer to them from time to time important matters which should come before the Committee. The Select Committee had acted accordingly and had referred to the Secret Department of the Board matters relating to the Dewani revenues. For instance the Committee had referred to the Secret Department the plan for appointing supervisors. "I think," Reed added, "it was also at the same time determined in the Secret Department of the Council that the correspondence of the Supervisors with the Resident at the Durbar should from time to time be laid before that body that they might make such further alterations and improvements therein as should be judged necessary." This Secret Department had also replied to the Directors on the subject of their orders by the Lapwing, and the Select Committee had at the time approved the Board's action(34).

The spirit of rancour which grew out of this quarrel between the Select Committee and Council over their respective powers developed to such an extent that the Select Committee would not allow the Council their legitimate right to ratify the actions of the Committee in matters relating to the revenues. Becher, the Resident at Murshidabad, had reported that the controlling powers of the Supervisors over amils and zemindars were likely to impede the collections of the revenues and suggested the postponement of the new system till the current years' revenue was realised(35). Without reference to the Council the Select Committee took away the checking powers of most of the Supervisors, continuing the experiment in those districts only where there were experienced men as Supervisors. They wrote to Becher, "... What you recommended being a deviation from the plan first concerted, we thought [it] more consistent and regular that the Council should be informed of the substance of our resolutions before we despatched the letter.

"We should accordingly have made them acquainted with our [ ] tions but an altercation arose between us and the gentlemen of Council founded [on a] motion for taking into consideration and defining the powers of the Council and Committee which engrossed their whole attention.....

(33) *Idem.* pp. 61-63.

(34) *Proceedings of 3rd July, Idem.* pp. 64-73.

(35) Becher to Select Committee—18th June, 1770, *Select Committee Proceedings of 21st June, 1770*—pp. 378-85.

"With respect to the subject of your last letter it is of too [ ] importance to delay issuing our directions upon it and if we continue in our first [resol]ution of submitting our proceedings previously to the board, we are apprehensive [ ] the present altercation might be productive of still further delays which would [in] the highest degree be detrimental to the collections at this critical season and d[elicate] conjuncture. We have therefore determined to communicate our instructions without longer hesitation" (36).

The majority of the Council now decided to give effect to the orders of the Directors conveyed in their letter of the 30th June, 1769 on the ground that the chance of the arrival of the Commissioners was very little and that the season of collections had so far advanced that unless immediate effect was given to the plan proposed by the Court, its adoption would be delayed for another year and its purpose consequently defeated (37). The President, Mr. Cartier, argued that the Directors' orders were to be carried into execution by the Commissioners of whose arrival there were still reasonable hopes. Besides the Board had not as yet received a copy of the Court's instructions to the Commissioners without which the intentions of the Directors could not be properly carried out. Moreover, the time was inopportune for fresh innovations in the method of collections. Only recently a change had been brought about by the appointment of Supervisors, and frequent changes were not desirable. There was great distress in the country. The collections had just begun and any new measure would check the work of collection (38). Nevertheless, the Council appointed the Councils of Revenue at Murshidabad and Patna, stipulated that they should take charge from 1st September, 1770 and drew up instructions for their guidance from the text of the Directors letter of 30th June, 1769 (39), members of the Select Committee arguing in vain that all instructions to these Councils should be transmitted from the Select Committee (40). The Board further demonstrated their control over revenue administration by asking the Resident at the Durbar to transmit to them the correspondence that had passed between him and the Supervisors. It was contended that the Board had appointed Supervisors and had communicated the fact to the Resident, and the Board expected from the Resident all information relating to the success of the plan (41).

The conflict was thus no longer confined to debates in the Council board but had shifted to the sphere of action. The danger of such dissension in the government at the headquarters became clear when the Council contradicted the orders of the Committee issued scarcely a month ago regarding the powers of the Supervisors, and wrote to the Councils of

(36) Select Committee Proceedings of 28th June, 1770, p. 415.

(37) Proceedings of the 6th July, 1770—Secret Proceedings No. 6—I. R. D. pp. 89-91.

(38) *Idem.* pp. 79-89.

(39) Proceedings of 13th July, 1770. *Idem.* pp. 92-93.

(40) Proceedings of 17th July, 1770. *Idem.* pp. 96-97.

(41) Proceedings of 24th July, 1770. *Idem.* pp. 107-109.

Revenue that since Supervisors should have proper authority to counteract the powers of those whose interest was to keep them ignorant, "we confirm the controlling powers we gave to our Supervisors . . . . . you are to represent what addition to that authority you think necessary" (42). The withdrawal of the powers of the Supervisors by the Select Committee without reference to the Council was regarded by the latter as an insult to their authority. They therefore took the first opportunity of setting aside the orders of the Select Committee without regard to the merits of that decision.

The Directors decided this conflict in their government at Fort William in favour of the Council. In their despatch of the 25th April, 1771 they wrote:—

".....We entirely disapprove the opposition given by our Select Committee to a measure which was positively ordered by the Court of Directors and for the speedy accomplishment whereof the Lapwing packet was despatched expressly to your presidency. And as so alarming a disunion amongst our servants may be attended with consequences of a very serious nature, we cannot omit the present opportunity of testifying our displeasure against those persons who have opposed the execution of our orders.

"It is therefore, our pleasure, and we do hereby direct that Mr. Becher be dismissed from our Council at Bengal, that Mr. Claud Russell and Mr. Charles Floyer be immediately removed from our service in Bengal and that they do return to Madras with all convenient despatch, where they are to take rank in the stations they would now have held in the Company's service respectively, in case they had remained until this time without interruption on the Fort St. George establishment.

".....We cannot pass over his (Mr. Cartier's) late conduct in joining a resolution to retard the execution of our orders, which, if they had been vigorously enforced, would, we cannot doubt, have tended much to the public welfare, and reflected honour on every individual who might have had the execution of them. We therefore direct that Mr. Cartier do continue in the government of our presidency of Fort William till the departure of the last ship of the season for Europe after the arrival of Mr. Hastings in Bengal, on or before which time it is our pleasure that Mr. Cartier do resign the government to Mr. Hastings (43).

So much were the Directors pleased with the members of the Council that as late as November, 1772—nearly a year and a half after these orders—they proceeded to shower favours on those who had distinguished themselves in their opposition to the Select Committee. The wise orders of March, 1770 prohibiting members of the Board from residing outside Calcutta and acting as chiefs of subordinate factories were withdrawn, and Barwell who was a rich private merchant was offered the chiefship of

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(42) Proceedings of 2nd August, 1770. pp. 119-120.

(43) Firminger—op. cit. pp. cci-ccii.



Dacca, and Reed and Lane the chiefships of subordinate factories that might first fall vacant after the receipt of their letter on ground of "proper obedience" to the orders per Lapwing(44).

The decisions of the Directors were unjustly harsh on the members of the Select Committee. However serious and regrettable were the discussions among their servants in Bengal, the Directors themselves were responsible. Months before the Council and the Committee quarrelled, Verelst had written, "You are no stranger to a want of method which reigns here in the affairs of this government. The whole weight of business is confined to two departments—the Committee and the Council . . . . . neither of these departments are thoroughly defined or understood. . . . . The Court of Directors themselves are at a loss where the precise line of each is drawn ; sometimes attributing to the Council what belongs to the Committee, and again transferring from one to the other, without rule or distinction"(45). It is clear from the study of the proceedings that the Select Committee never intended to defy the Directors. The execution of the orders of the Court were retarded by the attitude of both the Council and the Select Committee, and both bodies might have been warned for failing to act in unison. Besides, the orders per Lapwing ought to have been addressed to the Select Committee. The Directors failed to indicate who were to carry them out and sought to cover their error by severe punishments on Becher, Floyer, Russell and Cartier. The Diwani functions belonged to the Select Committee, and the members of the Committee were right in insisting that it was for them to carry out the orders, in the absence of the Commissioners, with the approval of the Council. The Select Committee were regarded with jealousy since the days of Clive. The Committee were now in a weak position. Their general superintending powers had been taken away. Cartier, the President, was a man without personality. Of him it has been said that "there never was a governor less capable, less active, less resolute". It was now, therefore, time for the Council to spring upon the Committee and take away their powers. More so because Floyer and Russell were objects of jealousy as they had been brought from Madras by Clive in 1765 to supersede Bengal civilians. Their position was somewhat similar to Vansittart's in 1760. Vansittart had also been brought from Madras by Clive and had in supersession of the claims of Holwell and Amyatt, been appointed President. As a result there had grown up a strong party of opposition against him which found its first grievance in the fact that the Select Committee had without consulting the Council installed Mir Kasim in place of Mir Jafar. Vansittart had thus been faced with persistent opposition to all his acts until his enemies were able to overthrow Mir Kasim and set up Mir Jafar(46).

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(44) Firminger—op. cit. pp. ccii-cciii.

(45) Firminger—op. cit. p. cciii.

(46) Cleig—op. cit. Vol. I, p. 291. Mill—History of British India 1826 Edn. Vol. III, p. 274.

It was unfortunate that in that terrible year of the worst famine known to history the real government in Bengal should be so much affected by internal discord. In March, 1773 we find Hastings observing that "the want of clear and distinct lines to mark the different parts of which the government of Bengal is composed is the greatest of the many defects which clog this establishment", pointing out that "the powers of the Select Committee are confined to so narrow a compass that in effect they are next to nothing, and only serve to embarrass and multiply business", pleading "the necessity of distinguishing the powers of the Council, the Select Committee, and the governor, and of substituting to the nominal authority of the latter, such a degree of actual control as may enable him to support with credit the character of the ostensible head of government, to give vigour to its decrees, and preserve them from inconsistencies" (47), and submitting his own plan of government. The famous Act which was passed that year however paid no heed to Hastings' proposals. The governor general did not have the degree of actual control which Hastings contemplated. The Select Committee was done away with in Bengal, the size of the Council was reduced and the entire administration was placed under the governor general and council, all political matters being henceforward dealt with by the board in its secret department.

A. P. DAS GUPTA.

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(47) Gleig—op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 289-92.

# Scraps of Fort William Regimental History.

## DESERTERS—*Continued.*

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The most notable of all British-Indian deserters was Charles Masson, who presumably took French leave from the Bengal Artillery during the first Burmese war of 1824, and worked his way into Afghanistan after the most severe privations. He tells of being attacked and stripped of everything; left naked and bruised in the depths of an Afghan winter, but he survived to become a most influential man in that barbarous country.

The November number of the Calcutta Monthly Journal (1836) contains the following. Masson was obviously something of a scholar as well as an antiquarian believing that Afghanistan, particularly that part north of Cabul where few other than Russian soldiers have ever penetrated, was the cradle of the world.

"A very valuable box of relics recently reached Bombay from Cabool. It appears that some time since this Government placed at the disposal of Mr. Masson several thousand rupees for the purpose of excavating some of those singular buildings called "Topes" in that country, the expenditure of which had terminated most successfully. Intrinsically, even, the relics are of considerable value, consisting of several thousand coins in gold, silver, and copper, as well as some golden boxes; but in an historical point of view, they will prove of the first importance in elucidating the history of that part of Asia. Most of the coins are Greek chiefly of the Bactrian monarchs. There are also Roman coins, as well as some of the native dynasties that have reigned in Cabool."

In Masson's books he complains of the unscrupulousness of Sir Alexander Burnes who took Masson's information and gave it to the world as his own. As Burnes was idolised mostly with the object of covering up the inefficiency and specious statements of the East India Company little was said about Masson. He also obtained the release of British prisoners after the disgraceful cowardice shown in the First Afghan War. The "Honourable" Company promised two lakhs of rupees to the Afghans for their humanity in releasing men, women and children, but once the prisoners were in British hands, nothing was paid.

For his services to the East India Company in Afghanistan he was pardoned by the King. As a confidential agent of the Company he was paid Rs. 250 per month which was later increased to Rs. 500. But after the Company let him down he refused to take anything from them. His books and poems are good reading but he deserves more notice than can be given in articles consisting of a series of "Scraps".

Major David Price, in "Memoirs of the Early Life and Service of a Field Officer tells how one of the British officers with an Indian regiment took French leave in full view of the army:—

"On the last days of the month of July (1783) Ens. Bunbury, with nine European soldiers and about twenty sepoy, comprising, probably, the garrison which had been left for the defence of Merjee, was despatched in a patamar boat for Onore ; which place, after a perilous passage, over the bar, at the mouth of the river, he reached in safety, on the 1st of August, 1783.

"Of this unfortunate young man, it is impossible to speak without a feeling of distress, if not of compassion ; for after the cessation of hostilities at Onore, he covered himself with indelible disgrace, by going over to the enemy in open day-light ; he was seen to pass over the embankment of the trenches deliberately, followed by the servant, who, as usual, carried his chair. What motive it was that impelled him to this act of deliberate and desperate profligacy, was never distinctly understood. Some said that he considered himself unhandsomely and illiberally treated by the authorities of Onore ; while, by others, the disgraceful step was ascribed to an attachment which he conceived for a dancing girl at Sadashugurr ; for whom he thus risked his all. The desertion is thus noticed in Major Torriano's narrative of the Siege of Onore.

"To fill up the measure of their misfortunes"—alluding to the garrison—"they had lost all hope of conveying intelligence, by the desertion of an officer of the garrison, Ens. Bunbury ; who to stamp his character with indelible infamy, publicly read their letters at the durbaur, and furnished the enemy with every information, over which his recent situation in the army gave him power."

"This remark seems to have been made a few days subsequent to the 5th of February, 1784.

"The desertion of a British officer, and that to the bitterest and most implacable enemy of his country, was an event so singular and unprecedented in occurrence, that I have not been able to pass it by without observation. By those who knew him best, this unhappy young man was considered an active, spirited, and intelligent officer, but very defective in education ; a defect which has marred the fair prospects of many worthier and better men. He had been made a cadet by Governor Hornby ; which I do not mention in disparagement ; but if he had possessed a single spark of the principles of a gentleman, he would never have dared to fix the stigma of desertion in the annals of an army of which he proved so unworthy a member. I believe he was never heard of afterwards ; unless it was as one among those renegado Europeans, who served with the army of Tippoo, in his campaign against the Mahratta States, north of the Toombudra." pp. 97-8.

From being something of a gentleman, Ensign Bunbury would find himself herding for the rest of his life with "dissolute men, hard to reclaim, and less worth it."

John Shipp relates, that in December 1804, at the Siege of Deig he was sent scouting on a dark night to "see what was on the other side." Later, "by daylight in the morning, everything was finished, and we were so close to the enemy that we could distinctly hear English spoken, and the *reveillée* beaten." A footnote says, "The English, which we were confident we heard spoken on this occasion, was, no doubt, by a drummer who had deserted from the 76th regiment, and who was afterwards found dead in the fort."

In 1828 an artillery sergeant serving in Fort William who was short in his accounts deserted; he was sentenced to be reduced to the ranks and to undergo one year's solitary confinement.

What that must have meant to a man used to a lot of company, to say nothing about the confinement in a building almost without ventilation and swarming with mosquitoes is difficult to imagine. The prison was located on the right hand side of the sortie leading to the Calcutta gate and is still standing as a testimonial to the barbarous spirit of the age.

During the 1890's prisoners sentenced to long terms of imprisonment were not kept in the fort prison but sent to Lucknow. Twelve months solitary confinement in any part of India must have been a long-drawn-out sentence of death.

A gunner who deserted in Fort William and was arrested in Ludiana was awarded 900 lashes on his bare back and put on half pay until the value of the sword and pistol he sold was made good.

Any deserter serving a sentence was allowed two annas a day for rations which could not have permitted him to enjoy many luxuries.

As far back as 1743 an arrangement was made between the English Government and the Dutch Government about deserters who were to be delivered up on either side.

The Dutch, more humane than our own people, agreed to this "upon the assurance that the men were not put to death, nor punished publicly in an infamous manner."

Desertion even today, is more common than is generally believed. Years ago men "ran" as soon as they found what they had to put up with.

Lieutenant Colonel J. Leach, C. B. of the Rifle Brigade who was at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo relates—"A few days before we moved towards the south, several deserters, who were taken in Rodrigo, were tried by a general court-martial. . . . Some were shot and the remainder pardoned. The reason they alleged for deserting to the enemy was, that they had several months' pay due, which they saw no prospect of ever receiving. The excuse was a lame one, and the remedy which they adopted, in the hopes of bettering themselves, most unjustifiable."

After Vittoria where Joseph Buonaparte's army, loaded with everything of value that could be stolen from Spain, was defeated, Lord Wellington

entertained the *elite* of his prisoners, "and even the captured ladies were guests at his table during his brief sojourn at Vittoria."

A writer who presumably was there gave this description, some of it verbatim from Wellington's despatches.

"At Vittoria the mixed character of which an army is composed, was strikingly exhibited. Never, in the history of modern warfare, did defeat tempt the cupidity of the soldier with more extensive or more valuable booty, . . . and, to use the words of the historian, "the fighting troops marched upon gold and silver without stooping to pick it up." But to others, the display of wealth was too trying for their moral endurance to withstand—the onward step of victory was stayed for filthy plunder, and to the eternal disgrace of the delinquents, it was known that some officers, forgetting caste and honour, shared in "the disgraceful gain." The evil consequences were so mischievous, as in some degree to paralyse the subsequent operations, and rob Vittoria of what would have otherwise been its grand results. The soldiers, instead of preparing food, and resting themselves after the battle dispersed in the night to plunder, and were so fatigued, that when the rain came on next day, they were incapable of marching, and the allied army had more stragglers than the beaten one. Eighteen days after the victory, twelve thousand five hundred men, chiefly British were absent, most of them marauding in the mountains."

A Court Martial on Private James Jones assembled at Moal Mein to try him for "Desertion from his Regiment when in Pegue on Field Service between the months of April and July 1826, and entering the Service of Mengee Ozinah (a Burmese Chief,) from when he returned to the British Station of Moal Mein, on the 9th April 1827, declaring that he had surrendered himself in consequence of bad treatment, which he received whilst in the Service of Mengee Ozinah."

*Secondly*.—For having, when a Prisoner in confinement, used his utmost endeavours to inveigle certain Soldiers to desert with him to Ozinah's Service, stating at the same time, particularly to Gunner Williams of the Artillery, that "It was all a shamm his saying Ozinah had illtreated him, which assertion he made in order to cover his design in getting as many Artillery Men as he possibly could over to Ozinah," or words to that effect.

*Thirdly*.—"For Deserting from the Artillery Guard Tent when a Prisoner, and persuading Gunner Williams and Osborne, of Artillery, to accompany him on the Night of the 20th, or early on the Morning of the 21st Instant, (April) for the express purpose of returning back to the Service of the afore-said Mengee Ozinah.

Private Jones was "sentenced to be transported as a Felon for the term of his natural Life to New South Wales, or such other place as the Officer confirming this Sentence may be pleased to direct." All of which looks as if Private James Jones was a particularly bad bargain.

A Government Order stopped a practice that was often akin to desertion. Men serving in the Company's regiments took employment in other

departments and gradually disappeared so far as their connection with the army went. One reads—"A considerable number of European soldiers are employed in different parts of the country in distant stations, and in occupations incompatible with the duty of a soldier and inconsistent with the person receiving military pay from the Honorable Company, and being convinced that the practice of permitting the soldiers to be so employed is highly detrimental to the discipline of the Corps from which the men have been withdrawn, His Excellency orders the discontinuance of the practice."

This must have been a disastrous bombshell to those who were in the position of Hooghly pilots, chemists, and in private practice as doctors and lawyers, who had been so long away from military duty they had forgotten all about it.

But the East India Company gladly took all men who deserted from British regiments which, in a way, proves that they looked upon desertion with a lenient eye. Commanders of British (Royal) Regiments, once they knew the men were in the Company's army, do not appear to have demanded their return. Correspondence seems to show they did no more than hope the practice of encouraging men to desert, would cease.

In "Old Memories" by General Sir Hugh Gough, G.C.B., V.C., he relates tells this story about siege of Delhi in 1857.

"A very curious incident occurred just before I left Delhi. A prisoner was brought into our camp: I believe he was captured when Hodson took the princes—at any rate, he was under a guard of "Hodson's Horse." Strong suspicion pointed to his being a European, although dressed in orthodox native clothes, all white, with the Mahomedan cut of *chupkan*. He was a tall, sturdy-looking man, with a naturally fair face, though extremely sunburnt, and a fine, soldier-like figure. Repute had been rife in our camp during the siege that more than one European had been on the side of the mutineers; and several officers and men declared they had noticed a white face among the artillerymen on the Moree Bastion; but few really believed that such could be the case. Here, however, was the fact developed, for on close examination the prisoner confessed that he was a European! He gave his name, and stated that he had been serjeant-major of a regiment of native infantry quartered at Bareilly or Moradabad; that when his regiment mutinied, they compelled him by force and threats of instant death to accompany them to Delhi; and that when there he was still compelled to serve their guns against us, for he never could find an opportunity of escaping, being strictly guarded and in daily fear of his life. He added that when Delhi was taken he fled for fear of our vengeance. I know these facts, as I took down the man's depositions: I cannot remember his name, but think it was "Gordon". He gave his evidence, all telling so against himself, in a most independent manner, and without fear. Notwithstanding his own admissions, and the fact of his having fought against us, something in his manner and bearing impressed me in his favour, and I felt pity for him. Criminal as his conduct had been, there was nothing craven about him, and

I was glad when I heard his life was to be spared. I do not know what eventually became of him ; I left Delhi a day or so after, and the matter dropped out of my memory. Although there have been other reports of our countrymen having joined the rebels, I am strongly of the opinion this is the only authenticated case, and I would fain believe that an Englishman does not readily save his life by treachery." pp. 108-111.

Forbes Mitchell, author of some books about his experiences, was formerly a sergeant in the 93rd Highlanders. After serving in the Crimea he came to India and served through part of the Mutiny, later settling at No. 43 Garden Reach where I occasionally breakfasted with him on Sunday mornings.

He used to assert that the best shots among the mutineers were British N.C.O's who had remained with their regiments after they broke out. He said it was a British sergeant major of the 73rd Native Infantry who shot the colonel of the 73rd Highlanders. I remember being struck with the coincidence about the numbers of the regiments but did not believe him.

One suspicious circumstance is this. There were 75 regiments of Bengal Infantry. Some of these had Second Battalions. Then there were Extra Regiments, Provincial Battalions, Volunteers, and Local Levies. Each had a European sergeant major, quartermaster sergeant, and drill sergeant. Many had European bandmasters. Most of them had Indian wives who must have known what was going to happen but there is nothing on record, outside Government archives, to show that they had given warning to their officers. The part they took in the Mutiny would be most informative were it made public.

An officer of the 60th Rifles, returning from leave and anxious to rejoin his regiment found matters pretty bad.

*June 16, 1857.*

"At half past seven a.m., I reached the Dak Bungalow at Benares, shortly after the dispersion of the mutinous 37th Native Infantry and a small number of Sikhs under the guns of Major Olpherts, Her Majesty's 10th Foot and Madras Fusiliers. The Sikhs, it is alleged, were compelled to join in the mutiny of the 37th Native Infantry, in consequence of the irregular manner in which steps were taken to disarm that regiment on the parade ground by a commanding officer, incapacitated both by age and want of firmness from acting with that vigorous determination which the occasion required, and to which laxity of discipline had led. Strange to say, the officers of the 37th Native Infantry have asserted that the spirit of disaffection was excited in their corps by two companies of Her Majesty's 10th, belonging to the Brigade. Should there be any truth in this report, nothing short of the grossest mismanagement could have led to such a result. All here is confusion and dismay ; a large number of panic-stricken families have sought shelter in the mint-house, where they live in a most unenviable state of alarm, in which some of the troops doing duty participate." *Journal of English Officer in India by Major North, 60th Rifles Deputy Judge Advocate General, and Aide-de-Camp to General Havelock etc. pp. 13-14 (1858.)*



## THURSDAY HOLIDAY

One of the puzzles of British-Indian military life is the origin of and the reason for the full day's holiday enjoyed on Thursdays by soldiers, British and Indian, in India. The order of 1880 signed by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Napier of Magdala, is often quoted :—"A weekly holiday on Thursday on which no field days or parades except musketry shall take place nor any court martials shall sit unless the exigencies of the public services shall absolutely require it."

Major General W. A. Watson, in his *History of King George's Own, Central India Horse*, tells us :—"Lord Napier of Magdala when Commander-in-Chief complained of officers shooting on Sunday. On excuse being made that it was the only day available for such recreation had replied, "Well, let them have Thursday." It is a regrettable fact that the Army proceeded to take both ; and whatever may have been the true reason for the concession, Lord Napier's name was always remembered with gratitude so long as the Thursday holiday remained a standing order." (pp. 236-7).

But that does not appear to do any more than establish what was already in existence. In 1832, the *Oriental Sporting Magazine* published a letter from a correspondent in which one finds, "Thursday, Mr. Editor, is a holiday in the Deccan, at least amongst the military (blessings be on the head of the man who ordained it) when every sportsman can kick his heels and enjoy himself."

The practice of giving sportsmen one day in the week may have helped to establish the custom, but, curiously, the Thursday holiday does not appear to have originated among the soldiers themselves. In the not-so-very-good old days, when the "Army was a matter for weeping all day and for praying all night," the *Calcutta Review*, (Vol. VIII. 1847) p. 549.) states :—

So far as the soldier goes, Thursday is a day when he can dodge tiresome repetition, the curse of a military life. It is a great boon and the Commander-in-Chief who would try to take it away has not yet been born.

The following letter by the sister of Lord Auckland seems to show part of the opposite side of a soldier's life.

*May, 7, 1837*

"There is a good story they have also got in the papers. The privates of the Cameronian Regiment acted a play last week, (remarkably well, they say), and offered the proceeds to the European Orphan Asylum ; the children there are soldiers' orphans. The paper was circulated to the ladies of the committee, and Fanny and I, and a majority of the ladies, put our names to a resolution that we accepted their contributions with thanks, &c. While we were at Barrackpore two ladies re-circulated the paper (which is against all the rules of the establishment), and they and some others drew up some very absurd resolutions—that no establishment could expect the blessing of Providence that received contributions earned in this unchristian manner ; that if the orphans (a remarkably naughty set of spoiled girls) knew such sub-

scriptions were received, it would hurt their feelings and their principles ; and they ended by refusing 640 rupees— a great help to the school, and which these poor men have earned in the most respectable manner. We saw all this in the paper, but did not believe it until it was confirmed, and now George (Lord Auckland) is vexed about it, and half the military people are threatening to withdraw their subscriptions." (Letters from India by the Hon. Eden, Vol. II pp. 9 & 10.) (Published in 1872).

### FROM ANOTHER SOURCE THE STORY READS

"In 1837 the privates of the 26th Regiment (Cameronian Regiment) got up a performance of the Rob Roy, and Honest Thieves for the benefit of the orphans, but their offer of Rs. 600/- (as the sale proceeds) was declined by the Ladies' Committee. It was said that a high dignitary of the church instigated the refusal with a vow to discouraging theatrical performances."

There is another reference which, dated Wednesday (May 9 1837) runs—

"The Asylum question rages, and, as ..... says, it is lucky we can all make so much excitement out of it. We got back the committee paper today, and George drew up an excellent protest, which Fanny and I have signed, and transmitted to the other ladies."

Miss Eden, in another letter of Monday, January 30, 1842 tells how "I went to the Fort Church yesterday where we have had a new preacher, who gave us such a beautiful sermon ; it was quite refreshing. But.....has taken advantage of his coming to introduce the long service there, much to the detriment of the soldiers, who cannot possibly stand it in the hot weather ; and it will drive away a large congregation, who had taken refuge there from the long service of the cathedral."

It is difficult to imagine what led men to impose such cruelty on soldiers who, in tight fitting uniforms, with a leather stock with rough edges half strangling them, had to sit in extreme discomfort for nearly three hours listening to the ordinary military chaplain who generally cannot be interesting in anything, even if he tries. But it must be admitted that troops were far better off than they would be in England, where judges and magistrates, Christian English gentlemen, sentenced little girls of seven or eight to solitary confinement in penitentiaries, and publicly hanged boys of eight and nine. One cannot but feel that the clerical mind, aware that the amount of piety they threw about was wasted, derived satisfaction from knowing that if they could not make soldiers pious, they could make them uncomfortable, and worse Christians after Church than before—without even the consolation expressed by the man who said he was so glad to get away he was glad he went.

The warrant officer in charge of a military prison probably expressed the clerical mind in a more accurate way. A young parson, paying his first visit to the prison, asked, "Do the men attend Divine Service on the Sabbath?"

"Hoo Hoo!" was the reply. "I never lets 'em off *that*!!!"

## BUGLES, DRUMS, AND FIFES.

Lieut. Colonel H. P. Garwood wrote to one of the London papers on August 16, 1836 as follows :—

"I have often heard it asserted that the bugle calls used by the British Army were composed by Joseph Haydn at the request of George III, though I have never been able to trace any authority for the statement.

"The late Admiral Gerard Wells, in his *"Naval Customs and Traditions"* (Philip Alan, 1930), states : "Bugle calls were written by Joseph Haydn about 1793, and were introduced into the Navy in 1865."

"The 1824 edition of the *Field Exercises and Evolutions of the Army*" explains the use of the bugle in the field, and gives the music of the calls very much as we know them today.

"Now Haydn visited England twice, from early in 1791 till June, 1792, and from January, 1794, till June 1795. His bugle calls (if they are his) do not appear in the official manuals of that period (unless, of course, in one I have overlooked). A series of some 20 distinctive calls, however much they become familiar and almost traditional by repetition and use, cannot be easy to compose. If you doubt me, try it.

"It would be pleasant to know that our military calls, now so cherished, have a distinguished parentage, and perhaps those of your musical and or military readers who have access to documents of the period will find it a not uninteresting field of research."

Sir John Fortescue, historian of the British Army says practically the same thing about the bugle which certainly has had a far shorter life than the drum. One thing is certain, that is, only a musician could have composed the "Reveille" the "Retreat" or the mournful "Last Post." A correspondent to one of the papers this year pointed out that mechanisation had destroyed much of the glamour of the Army life as reflected in many a musical cadence on the trumpet and bugle. "Boot and Saddle," "Stand to your Horses," and "Stables," have no place in a mechanised cavalry regiment. In the few horsed units these calls will be retained, but generally speaking they have been lost. There is no need for the "Watering order" summons, or "Hay Up or Litter Down" in a motorised unit, although it still ranks as cavalry." But those are trumpet calls, and the trumpet is really a musical instrument with a beautiful, arresting, tone. And it is the trumpet that has lost its work in several duties. The bugle, with its more blatant tone, is not affected so far by the great changes brought in by pneumatic tyres.

The drum must be one of the oldest musical instruments in the history of the world. In the British Army, certainly up to the time it was partially superseded by the bugle, drummers held a rank of some distinction as the following extracts will show.

"The office of drum major does not appear to have been universally admitted into our service till the latter end of the reign of King Charles I. Sir

James Turner, in his *Pallas Armata*, positively denies the existence of such an office in our service at the time he wrote.

"There is (says he) another inconsiderable staff officer in most armies, yet necessary enough in all regiments of foot, and that is the drummer-major, the French call him the colonel drummer ; he is to receive his directions from the major of the regiment, at what hour he is to beat to the watch, when the dian, and when the tap-too, wherewith he is to acquaint the several drummers of companies and to appoint them by turns for their beatings ; he is also to order them in what divisions each of them shall beat, when the regiment marcheth ; and they are to obey all his directions punctually. In some places he gets a third more pay than other drummers, but here at home we acknowledge no such creature."

"Notwithstanding this, the drum major is mentioned by Ward, and Venn (Military and Maritime Discipline in three books etc. ; by Captain Thomas Venn, published 1672) and his duty described ; possibly some regiments who had served abroad, might have adopted that appointment.

"Every company had one or two drummers, according to its strength, and sometimes a phifer, by old writers often stiled whifflers, tho' I am apt to think that there was some small difference in the instrument, as in the list of forces sent out to St. Quintin's, both fifers and whifflers are mentioned."

In Ralph Smith's *Military Collection* the qualifications and duties of drummers and fifers are thus laid down :

"All captains must have dromes and phiphes and men to use the same, who should be faithfull, secret, yngenious, of able personage to use their instruments and office, of sundrie language, for often tymes they are sent to parlie with their enemies, to summon their forts and towns, to reddeme and conducte prisoners, and diverse other messages, which of necessitie require languages ; if such drome or phiphers should fortune to fall into the hands of their enemies, no gifte or force should cause them to disclose any secrete that they know ; they must often practice their instruments, teache the company the sound of their march, approche, assalte, battell, retreat, skirmish, or any other calling that of necessity should be known."

The drum was an important instrument, for we are told that,—“There was in the King's household an officer, stiled, drum-major-general of England, without whose license no one could, except King's troops, formerly beat a drum.”

According to lieutenant colonel William Bariffe, who published the 2nd edition of “*Militarie Discipline, or the Young-Artillery-man*” in London in 1643, the chief beats of the drum formerly used by the infantry were a Call, a Troop, a Preparative, a March, a Bataille, and a Retreat. There were others, some ordinarily improper but a foot-note states this :—

“There was formerly another beat, called the Long March ; on the beating of which the men clubbed their firelocks, and claimed and used the liberty of

talking all kinds of ribaldry respecting their amours and those of their officers ; this has for some time been very properly abolished."

"It does not appear that drummers were at this time employed to execute the sentences of courts martial ; indeed we learn from the account of Assarius Velthoven, the provost martial, page 253, that it was the duty of that officer, or his deputies, to execute all corporal punishments, for which he made a charge in his contingent bill ; so that the custom of having those punishments inflicted by the drummers, seems to have taken place after the reign of King William. From the following passage in Sir James Turner it looks as if every regiment was not entitled to fifers on the establishment, but that they were paid by the captain or colonel ; "with us," he says, "any captain may keep a piper in his company, and maintain him too, for no pay is allowed him, perhaps just as much as he deserveth."

"Military Antiquities Respecting a History of the English Army, from the Conquest to the Present Time by Francis Grose Esq., F.A.S. Published 31st July 1812," pp. 250-1-2.

Sir James Turner in the XVIIth Century seems to have expressed the same opinion of Phippers, or Whiffers, or Whisslers as one of our English Judges, (Mr. Justice Eve I believe,) who in the XXth Century called the flute a "disgusting wind and water instrument." But the learned Judge was candid enough to confess that he had never allowed his hair to grow long enough to give him any real claim to consideration as a musician.

The 16th Foot proceeded to Chinsurah in March 1831 having been relieved by the Buffs, that fine old regiment, who arrived in Fort William in February of that year. They were in garrison until October 1832 when they moved to Berhampore where several tombstones stand today to report the number of "Buff" casualties in that unhealthy station.

The 49th, Hertfordshire Regiment, came to Fort William on October 13, 1832 and remained there until January 5, 1835 when they marched to Hazaribagh, one of the many deserted Cantonments of Bengal. They were relieved by the unfortunate 44th who, after suffering severely in Arrakan, were raised to strength by numbers of local men who did not appear to have been of much benefit to the regiment.

The 9th (East Norfolk) arrived in Fort William from Mauritius in October 1835 and is said to have been a particularly healthy regiment. It must have been a man of the Norfolks, on duty outside Government House, about whom a story is told by Miss Emily Eden in one of her interesting letters, dated March 13, 1836.

"George tried to walk with us to the stables but we were all tired before we reached the entrance-gate, at last two hundred hot yards off, and when we got there the sentry would not let us out. Whereupon all our tails began screaming at him for the indignity of not knowing the Burra Sahib, and of not letting him through his own gate ; to which the sentry replied that he knew him very well, but that he expected the Burra Sahib would make him

a corporal for being so strict on guard. However we got out, and then found such a crowd of natives with petitions to present, that we were very glad to get in again, and would have given the sentry a lieutenantcolonelcy, if he had asked it, to let us in." In those good old days when "Hold your tongue when you are talking to an officer," was the vogue, that sentry showed up rather well. It would be slightly under 200 yards from the North Gate of Government House, down Wellesley Place and past Spences Hotel to the Viceregal stables, not much of a walk even on a hot day.

Miss Emma Roberts states that the 26th Foot, (The Cameronians,) was the first regiment to be marched up country immediately after arrival, about the year 1828. Their first station was Karnaul, then a frontier station, which had a very large garrison at the time but was afterwards abandoned on account of its unhealthiness.

The 26th succeeded the 9th in Fort William on January 13, 1837. They came from Ghazeepore by boat, 680 strong. No more than 30 of their men died during that year and they remained in garrison until March 24th 1840 (Miss Emily Eden says they left on March 27th) when they sailed for Singapore, 902 strong. During three years there they lost 707 men from various causes.

They apparently left for Home in 1843 and were stationed in Chatham. On their first parade their band so displeased the General who was possibly suffering from old age and liver that he sent the bandsmen off the parade ground on account of their poor music. One feels that he might have given the poor fellows half a chance to get properly on their feet. What with having their theatrical company in bad odour in Calcutta and their band disgraced on parade as soon as they arrived in the native land, they must have felt that life was hard, particularly for the musical men of the Cameronians.

Having said so much about the Cameronians it is worth while quoting from a writer some years later whose opinion of the Commanding Officer of the regiment will meet with approval from all who read of his humanity and sense of refinement. In the days when soldiers' wives were considered as little more than animals, this gentleman went out of his way to ameliorate the hardships and indecency of their lives.

"There is much in the arrangements of a barrack-room at home to outrage the feelings of delicacy of any woman. Married women were known to regularly sleep with their husbands alongside the beds of other men. We believe that in most barracks in Great Britain it is now managed to screen off a portion of the barrack-room for the married people: this, however, is merely an indulgence which the commanding officer may any day withdraw. A married barrack is a thing unknown, with perhaps the solitary exception of the Cameronians hiring a house for this purpose in Enniskillen, mainly through the kindness of the commanding officer." (East India Army Magazine, p. 514).

According to "General Orders of June 17, 1839, His Majesty's 21st Regiment, or Scotch Fusiliers, having been transferred from Fort St. George to that of Fort William is to be considered attached to the Presidency from April 27 last." The regiment embarked from Fort William in November 1840 for Dinapore.

The 49th Regiment (Hertfordshire) returned to Fort William on March 26th 1840 and left for Singapore on April 6th of that year.

The 16th Foot, relieved at Dinapore by the 21st Fusiliers in October 1840, "embarked for the Presidency" and were stationed in the Fort until November when they sailed for England.

In 1841 the 55th (Westmoreland) Regiment were in garrison. They were relieved early in 1842 by the 62nd (Wiltshire) Regiment who remained in Fort William until August and September of that year when they proceeded upcountry by boat. While on their journey the 62nd met with a cyclonic storm which almost overwhelmed the regiment. The "Englishman" of that time gave the following details.

"The sad disaster which befell H. M's 62nd Regt. whilst proceeding up the river is, we are happy to say, not of so great a magnitude as was expected from the reports which were in circulation this day week. It was then supposed that only thirty or forty lives had been saved out of the whole detachment; but from later accounts it appears that the following is a correct list of the missing, namely 2 Officers, 5 Serjeants, 4 Corporals, 75 Privates, 6 women, 12 children and 150 Indians. A loss like this however far it may have fallen short of the number supposed to have perished, is still a fearful sacrifice and calls for an immediate and searching enquiry into the river navigation, and especially with reference to the boats best adapted for the transport of troops to and from the Upper Provinces. Any one at all acquainted with the rattle-trap boats generally used for this purpose will not be surprised to hear of these melancholy and distressing accidents. The disgraceful manner in which the boats are generally surveyed and passed calls loudly for reform." (*Englishman*, September 26, 1842).

The same paper commenting on the tragedy expressed the opinion that "Accidents have so frequently occurred terminating in loss of life owing to the wretched description of boats engaged for soldiery, and the one which happened last year was so truly disastrous, that the Government cannot any longer with any proper regard for what is their imperative duty view the subject with indifference. Nor will the construction of these boats, although involving a certain amount of expenditure at first, be inconsistent with economy; for the lives of the soldiery, independent of the humane feeling which should always actuate the Government to consult and provide for their comfort and welfare, are valuable to the State from a pecuniary point of view, every soldier being calculated to cost the Company about £100. A sum of three lakhs of rupees would perhaps suffice to build about six hundred boats of different sizes, and this number would convey between four and five

thousand soldiers." (*Englishman*, February 27, 1843). All of which looks as if what happened in 1842 happened in 1916 when troops in Mesopotamia were the victims of economy. In 1842 the Government economised over the Afghan War, and in 1916 they saved money but wasted lives to build New Delhi. One cannot but feel that the greater the changes the more things remain the same.

The 10th (North Lincolnshire) Regiment were again in Fort William in 1842, arriving from England late that year. They relieved the unfortunate 62nd, and remained in Calcutta until November 15, 1844 when they moved to Meerut.

Then came the 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment which arrived at Calcutta on January 23rd 1845, leaving for England in three divisions on September 27th and 28th, and on October 22nd 1845. Four companies of the 39th (East Middlesex) under command of Captain Wood took over from the 40th. They left for Dinapore in March 1846. Their next appearance in the Fort was short, for they arrived in January 1847 and embarked for Gravesend in February of that year.

The 39th claims to be the first British regiment to come to India having landed from England in 1754. They certainly fought at Plassey, but it is on record that a regiment, one of the early numbers was specially raised for service in Bombay in the XVIIth Century.

The 94th arrived at Fort William in January 1846 and in March 1847 proceeded to Madras.

The History of the 50th (West Kent) states that the Regiment "Arrived off Fort William, April 11th 1847, and after marching round the Sikh guns (then parked in the Square beyond the Fort) the trophies of so much blood and glory, and which cost the Regiment so many valuable lives, the gallant 50th passed proudly into Fort William and remained there until the 14th February, 1848, when the Regiment embarked for England."

Those guns were afterwards melted down and form the monument known locally as "The Pepper Box," on the Strand Road, Calcutta.

An interesting story of the regiment is told by Surgeon-Major Frederic J. Mouat in a book of reminiscences published in 1863.

"In 1844, two troop ships, the Briton and the Runnymede, with detachments of the 50th and 80th regiments on board were driven close to the islands (Andamans) by stress of weather and all the means that were taken either to keep them out at sea or to obtain timely entrance into a secure harbour proving unsuccessful, they were driven hopelessly at the mercy of the waves, towards one of the islands of the Andaman archipelago, where, despite all the efforts that were made to avert such a fate, it appeared impossible to avoid utter destruction."



The troops were ordered below fully expecting to find themselves in the sea when the ship gave a "tremendous lurch ; then all movement ceased." In the morning they found themselves surrounded by trees, the storm having carried the ship right over a dangerous reef and landed it in the jungle.

While thanking their lucky stars at their escape they found themselves targets for "restless savages who concealed themselves in the impenetrable forest." "Anyone who was so inconsiderate as to straggle a short distance from his companions became their inevitable aim, and was shot at by their long arrows ; which inflicted troublesome, painful, and in some cases, dangerous wounds. Every attempt was made to conciliate them, but the unyielding obstinacy of their dispositions appeared invincible."

The Andamanese, little people of average height well below five feet must have been a great surprise to the soldiers who were lucky not to have met with what one of the regiments experienced when shipwrecked while coming from Australia—cannibals nearly seven feet high. Several of the soldiers were eaten. Lucky, too the Andamanese are not good shots. I watched a lot of them shooting at targets in 1886 and the practice, even for bows and arrows, was remarkably poor. Nevertheless, to find oneself, after missing a watery grave a target for arrows which might have been poisoned (but were not), must have caused considerable inconvenience. After that the 50th were undoubtedly well pleased to find themselves safely housed in Fort William before proceeding to Chinsurah.

In spite of a death rate that even in times of peace was positively terrific, life in India for private soldiers was obviously popular. They were away from the cold-blooded severity with which laws were administered in their own country by men who saw the law and missed seeing the human being. They were better fed, housed, and paid than they would be at home. It was then, and is now, easy to get on with the people of the country as there is something about them which encourages friendly tolerance, possibly making it easier to get on with them than with men in European countries. India is a friendly country in spite of its politicians.

When a man joined the army in those times he joined a particular regiment—often a particular company. Wherever that regiment went, he went with it as the authorities could not transfer him to another unit against his wish. There must have been more contentment than there is today. Not altogether from lack of moral strength, as Mahomed Hazin put it, did they become tranquil and habituated to the life. The following figures show the tremendous alteration that has taken place between the mentality of the soldier of a century ago, and the present day when all crave to go home. It also shows what a gap there is now between conditions of life in the East and in the West. One has not far to go out of the towns of India before finding conditions similar to those that existed when Miriam danced before Moses.

To decide to remain in India may not have been all due to love for the country. A bounty was often paid as the Government saved the cost of

sending men home, and as the soldier is invariably improvident, a hundred rupees for a glorious drunk had many attractions. Even then, the numbers who stayed are astonishing.

The 73rd Highlanders now the 1st Highland Light Infantry, went home in 1797 leaving 500 men to finish their lives in the country.

The 76th Foot, with which the Duke of Wellington served in Fort William, left India in Febraury 1806 with but 17 private soldiers—some 386 volunteering to stay in the country.

The 24th Regt. who served in Fort William in 1811/12/13 and left in 1814 had 483 men stay behind when the regiment went Home.

The 87th Foot handed over 259, and the 21st Scots Fusiliers, in 1847, left 393 who preferred to end their days in India.

The 13th Foot who landed in Calcutta in 1823, took over 620 volunteers from other corps, men who selected a regiment new in the country, because they then had a prospect of staying 20 or more years without having to make another change.

Abstract shewing the Increase and Decrease in H. M. 9th Regiment.

Increase in 7½ years.	Serjeants	Drummers	Rank & File.	Decrease in 7½ years.	Serjeants	Drummers	Rank & File.
Strength on landing ...	37	11	718	Strength now present	48	17	858
By joining of Depot ...	11	5	630	By Death ...	71	12	1081
Receipts from England	1	1	586	Invaliding ...	13	3	162
Volunteers ...	0	0	316				
Total ...	49	17	2250	Total ...	132	32	2101
Total Increase ... 1,550 men				Total loss by sickness ... 1,342			

## H. M. 98th Regiment, January, 1851.

Periods	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.
Strength of regiment on landing in China, July 1842 ... ..	37	11	718
Deaths amongst this number, between that period and February 1844, and space of 18 months ... ..	11	4	417
Strength of regiment on arrival of the Depot, February 1844 ... ..	32	7	304
Strength of the Depot Companies joining service, in 1844 ... ..	11	5	630
Number of Recruits and Volunteers received between February 1844, and embarkation from Chusan for India, in July 1846, a period of two years and a half ... ..	...	1	258
Strength of regiment on landing at Calcutta, in November 1846 ... ..	52	18	689
Recruits and Volunteers received since ...	1	0	644
Deaths, and Invalided since November 1846, up to 1st January 1850 ... ..	29	7	403
Number of deaths between 17th February and 20th November, 1849, a period of nine months (Not marching) ...	3	1	83
Number of men now effective who came out to China with the regiment in July 1843, a period of seven and a half years ...	7	1	101

And what did the soldier get for it?

What they call a "Whereas" in Ireland was published in the General Orders, Fort William, on May 18, 1827, taken from the British Army orders, and, of course applied to men serving in the Honourable East India Company's Forces.

"Whereas, We think it proper to revise the Regulation regarding the additional Pay of Soldiers for length of Service, and to discontinue the additional Pay allowed to Corporals and Privates at the expiration of the first year of Service, Our Will and Pleasure is, that no Soldier who shall enlist into our Army, after the 24th January, 1823, shall be entitled to the additional Pay of One Penny per diem after Ten years Service in the Cavalry, or after Seven years Service in the Infantry ; but that he shall nevertheless be held to have the same Claim, as heretofore, to the extra Pay of Two Pence per diem after Seventeen years' Service in the Cavalry, and Fourteen years' Service in the Infantry.

"Given at our Court at Carlton Place, the 24th day of December 1822, in the Third Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command :

(Signed) PALMERTON.

From which we can gather that all the soldier got out of that new deal was the shuffle. But can anyone imagine His Majesty, or any gentleman being guilty of such a paltry bit of financial juggling?

While the rank and file had a rough time destitute of comfort, the officers were obviously not lapped in luxury either. In "Qui Hi! in Hindostan, a Hudibrastic Poem in Eight Cantos by Quiz," (Published in 1816) a "bungalow" is defined as a "temporary house, built of bamboo and clay, and *very often* without a roof. Witness, subaltern quarters." (p. 40.) And when they were "through" with the army, few of the officers seem to have had anything much to write home about judging by the details of the "Pension Fund."

"May 21. 1827.—We refer our Military readers to a table showing the number of Officers of the Indian Army who retired on Pension every year, from 1796 to 1820, and the total amount of their pensions.

"By this it would appear that the aggregate expense of the Pension Fund is much less than is generally imagined ; and that, at an average, out of every hundred Cadets, about five only survive to enjoy *otium cum dignitate* in their native land.

"A Return of the number of Officers of the Indian Army who have retired on Pension every year, from 1796 to 1820, and the total amount of their Pensions.

						£	s.	d.
1796	...	...	...	...	12	4,132	10	0
1797	...	...	...	...	10	3,246	5	0
1798	...	...	...	...	21	5,475	0	0
1799	...	...	...	...	24	6,059	0	0
1800	...	...	...	...	26	4,279	12	6
1801	...	...	...	...	17	3,265	12	6
1802	...	...	...	...	22	4,503	5	0
1803	...	...	...	...	26	17,295	12	6
1804	...	...	...	...	18	5,321	10	0
1805	...	...	...	...	26	6,985	15	0
1806	...	...	...	...	21	5,678	12	0
1807	...	...	...	...	39	9,788	13	0
1808	...	...	...	...	29	9,831	17	6
1809	...	...	...	...	28	8,749	0	0
1810	...	...	...	...	33	8,484	7	6
1811	...	...	...	...	18	4,602	10	6
1812	...	...	...	...	25	7,027	10	0

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						£	s.	d.
1813	...	...	...	...	16	3,408	12	6
1814	...	...	...	...	25	5,465	12	6
1815	...	...	...	...	27	5,250	2	6
1816	...	...	...	...	18	3,162	12	6
1817	...	...	...	...	12	2,680	10	0
1818	...	...	...	...	17	3,519	0	0
1819	...	...	...	...	25	3,111	7	6
1820	...	...	...	...	15	1,680	0	0

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It appears from the above that the number  
of Officers who have retired in the twenty-  
five years, is ... .. 550

And their retiring allowance amount to ... 143,003 10 6

The number now, in the year 1820, on the  
retired list ... .. 369

And the retiring allowance amount to ... 77,103 15 0

It was proposed at this time to "make the amount of the retiring allowance to be regulated by the length of an officer's service, rather than by the rank attained by him at the time of his leaving the country."

H. HOBBS.

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# Studies in the Early Governmental System of the Company in Bengal (1765-74).

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## II

### CIVIL SERVICE

WE shall deal in this paper with the position, powers and the privileges of the Civil Servants of the Company in Bengal as they were chiefly during the period from 1765 to 1774.

Apart from the Governor and the members of the Council at Fort William other than the member or members (if any) thereof appointed from its army, the Civil Servants of the Company in Bengal were classified as writers, factors, junior merchants and senior merchants. (1) Thus, strictly speaking, there were six grades of Civil Servants in Bengal. This was also the case in Madras and Bombay. A Civil Servant would ordinarily come out to India and begin his career here as a writer, *generally* at the age of sixteen. He would serve the Company in that capacity for five years. Then he would be appointed a Factor and remain in that capacity for three (2) years. He would next gradually rise to the position of junior merchant, senior merchant, Councillor and even, in some cases, of Governor (3). As a junior

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(1) See the First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons (to be referred to hereinafter as the Commons Report, 1st), 1772, Appendix 1; also the Ninth Report, Select Committee, House of Commons, 1783; also Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, Ch. X; also Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. 1, 1841, p. 24.

(2) This appears to have been the general practice. As will be clear from the following extract from the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 25th March, 1772, if any person first came out to India as a Factor, he would be required to serve the Company for five years in that capacity:—

"It being the constant rule of the service for Persons to serve five years in the stations they go out in, and is also one of the stipulations in their covenants. It is therefore our pleasure that Mr. Charles Fleetwood do serve Five Years as a Factor."

(3) The Commons Report, 1st, 1772, Appendix 1; also the Ninth Report, Select Committee, House of Commons, 1783; also Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, Ch. X; also Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. 1, 1841, p. 24.

We may note here what Gleig has stated in this connexion:—

"With respect, again, to the remainder (i.e., excluding the President and Councillors) of the Company's servants, they were divided into four classes, namely, writers, factors, junior merchants, and senior merchants. The writer found employment in managing the details of business, in superintending the warehouses, and keeping accounts. At the end of five years he became a factor, when similar pursuits, though on a more extensive scale,

merchant he would be required to serve the Company also for three years. Thus the writer belonged to the lowest, and the Governor to the highest rank, in the Civil Service. Promotion to a higher rank in the service would ordinarily be based on the principle of seniority (4) in service. The original appointment of a young man as a writer would be made by the Court of Directors on a petition (5) submitted by him. And "on such petition being considered and granted by the Board of Directors," writes Mr. William Bolts, (6) "they (7) tender to the young candidate a long printed indenture to sign, as drawn up by their own lawyers, wherein, among many other articles, the youth is made to sign to certain agreements and conditions between the Company and himself." Thus every writer had to enter into a covenant or indenture on his appointment by the Court.

It might be mentioned here that according to a Parliamentary Report (8) three covenants were issued by the Court of Directors between 1756 and

occupied him; three years more saw him advanced to the rank of junior merchant, whence, after another period of three years, he passed into the order of senior merchants. From this latter class were chosen all members of Council, heads of factories, and, indeed, persons whom it was judged expedient to employ in affairs of Government: While the president's chair itself was open to their ambition, provided a vacancy should occur, and the home authorities omit to fill it."—See his *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, 1841, p. 24. Also see James Mill, *History of British India*, Vol. III, 1848, p. 23.

Ilbert has stated (*The Government of India*, 1916, p. 42) in connexion with the question of the constitution of the Company in 1773:—

"The civil and military servants of the Company were classified, beginning from the lowest rank, as writers, factors, senior factors, and merchants."

The insertion of the word "military" appears to have been an error. Nor do we find the expression "senior factors" in Parliamentary Reports referred to above.

(4) We may note in this connexion the following instruction of the Court:—

"We . . . leave it to you (i.e. the Governor and Council at Fort William) to employ our covenant servants in such places for such times and in general in such a manner as according to the best of your judgment will be most for the Interest of the Company having a strict regard to their qualifications for their present employs and their being in the way of gaining experience to fill the superior stations they may gradually advance to, with ability and Repudiation, You are to observe however that his general Direction is *not intended to break into the Equitable Rule of promoting our Servants according to seniority in the service, when there is no reasonable objection to the contrary* (the italics are ours). From the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 25th March, 1757, para. 98.

(5) Thus we find Warren Hastings petitioning to the Court of Directors:—

"The humble Petition of Warren Hastings aged sixteen years and upwards,  
Sheweth

That your Petitioner has been bred up to Writing & Accounts, & being very desirous of Serving your Honours as a Writer in India.

He therefore humbly prays your Honours will please to entertain him in that station, which he promises to discharge with the greatest Diligence & Fidelity, & is ready to give such Security as your Honours shall require.

And your Petitioner (as in Duty bound) shall ever pray."

—See the facsimile of the Petition of Warren Hastings in Foster, *John Company*, 1926, p. 220.

The italics are ours.

(6) *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, p. 112.

(7) I.E. the Court (Board) of Directors.

(8) The Commons Report, First, 26th May, 1772, Appendix I.

1772. The first covenant was in force from 1756 to July, 1770. It was supplemented, however, by a second covenant issued in May, 1764. A third covenant obviously superseding the first one, although embodying it in essence, was issued in July, 1770. Both the second and the third covenant were in force at the time of the submission of the Report referred to above, to the House of Commons on 26th May, 1772 (9). Thus a writer would be bound by the terms of the first covenant between 1756 and May, 1764; by those of first and the second between May, 1764 and July, 1770; and by those of the second and the third, between July, 1770, and May, 1772 (10).

Both the first and the third covenant (or indenture) were very long documents and contained many conditions of service. The second covenant was comparatively short, and supplemented, as we shall shortly see, the first covenant in one important respect. We shall notice here, for considerations of space, only such of the terms of the covenants as were of a material character.

We shall first briefly deal with what we have termed the first covenant, which, as noted before, was in essence embodied in the third one. It (11) stated, among other things:—

"Whereas the . . . . . United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, have (*upon the special Request and Entreaty of . . . . . A. B. and upon the Conditions and Agreements hereinafter contained, on the part of the said A. B. to be performed*) received and entertained him the said A. B. into their Service, as their *Writer and Covenant Servant* (12), at their chief Settlement of Fort William in Bengal in the East Indies, to serve them *for the Term of Five years*, and to be employed in all or any of the Traffic or Merchandizes, Businesses, and Affairs, in any Place or Places whatsoever, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Straits of Magellan, as the said Company, or their Court of Directors for the Time being, or any Thirteen or more of them, or any by them authorized, shall appoint, at and for the wages or sum of *Five Pounds of lawful Money of*

(9) And certainly afterwards. As the Parliamentary Report in question was itself dated 26th May, 1772, it could not say anything in regard to the continuance of the covenants beyond that date.

(10) And certainly afterwards. See the preceding footnote.

Also see Monckton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-74*, pp. 74-75, in this connexion.

"Thus", says this writer, "from 1756 to 1764 only the first would be in use; from 1764 to 1770 the first and second; and from 1770 to 1772 the second and third only, the third superseding the first. Beyond that date the evidence does not go, as the House of Commons inquiry was held in that year."

Also see the Court's Letter to the President and Select Committee in Bengal dated 17th May, 1766, para. 25.

(11) It began as follows:—

"This Indenture, made the.....Day of.....in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven Hundred and.....and in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord.....by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth; between the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, of the one Part, and A. B. of London, writer, of the other Part."—From the Commons' Report, First, 26th May, 1772, Appendix I.

(12) The italics are ours.



*Great Britain, by the Year*, (13) to commence from the Time of his Arrival at Fort William aforesaid. Now this Indenture witnesseth, that the said A. B. for himself, his Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, (14) doth hereby covenant and agree, to and with the said United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, and their Successors, in Manner and Form following . . . . .

“That he the said A. B. from the Time of his Arrival at Fort William . . . . . for, and during, and into the full End and Expiration of Five years, shall faithfully, honestly, diligently, and carefully, serve the said Company at such Place and Places, and in all and every such Affairs and Businesses of the . . . . Company, as the said A. B. shall be employed in ; and shall also from time to time, and at all times, observe, keep, and fulfil, all and every the orders of the . . . . Company, and of the . . . . . Court of Directors, made and to be made, for the Government of their Factories and Settlements, offices, Agents, or Servants abroad ; and shall and will also observe, keep, and fulfil, all such Orders, Instructions, and Directions, which he shall herewith or hereafter receive under the Seal of the . . . . Company, or from the . . . Court of Directors . . . . or any Thirteen or more of them, or from any Persons authorised thereunto by such Directors ; and shall and will, to the utmost of his Power and skill, resist and withstand all and every such Person or Persons, as shall break or endeavour to break, the said Orders, Instructions, or Directions, or any of them, and the said A. B. doth . . . . . covenant and agree . . . . that he will not do, attempt, or practise, nor shall wittingly or willingly permit or suffer any other Person or Persons whatsoever, to do, attempt, or practise, any Matter or thing whatsoever, to the Hindrance, Hurt, Prejudice, Damage, or defrauding of the said Company or their successors, or of their servants ; or any of them, or of the . . . . Company's Goods, Merchandizes, Trade, or Traffick, or any of them, or any Part thereof ; but shall, as much as in him lies, prevent and defeat the same . . . . . And the said A. B. doth hereby covenant and agree . . . . that he . . . . shall and will, from Time to Time, and at all Times from henceforth, give Notice and Intelligence, with all convenient speed, unto the said Court of Directors for the Time being, of all and every the Deceits, Wrongs, Abuses, Breach of Orders, Inconveniences, and Hindrances, which he . . . . shall know, understand, hear, or suspect to be done, practised, offered, or intended, against the . . . . Company, or their successors, or their Goods or Trade, or any of them, or against any

(13) The italics are ours.

It may be noted here that apart from their salaries, the servants of the Company, used to obtain certain allowances from the Company. Thus the total remuneration of a writer, as will appear from the following, was 400 current rupees per annum :—

“We do hereby direct that the future appointment to a writer for salary Diet Money and all allowances whatever be 400 Current Rupees per annum”.—From the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 3rd March, 1758, para. 131.

The total remuneration paid to the other ranks of the Company's servants was proportionately higher.

(14) This expression recurs again and again in the Indenture.

Person or Persons by them or by the . . . . Court of Directors employed, or in their service, in any Place or Places, together with the Names of those Persons by whom the same shall be so offered. practised, or intended . . . . that he will not engage or employ, either the Stock or the . . . . Company, or any Part thereof, or make use of the credit of the . . . . Company, in any kind, or other way and Manner howsoever, than for the Affairs of the . . . . Company, and as by the major Part of the Court of Directors . . . . shall be ordered and directed . . . . that he shall and will, at all Times, keep and conceal the said . . . . Company's Secrets, and every Matter and thing committed to him as such by the . . . . Court of Directors, or their Agents, Factors, officers, and servants, or any of them . . . . that he . . . . shall and will . . . . during his . . . . Employment, keep, or cause to be kept, a true and particular Journal or Day Book, of all Passages and Proceedings relating to the Affairs of the . . . . Company, and also Books of Accounts ; in which Journal, Day Book, and Books of Accounts, he shall daily, duly, truly, and fully, enter, or cause to be entered, the Accounts of all and every particular Buying, Selling, Receipts, Payments, Barterings and all other Transactions and occurrences relating to his Trust, during the Time he shall continue in the . . . . Company's Service and Employment . . . . that he will not place, or consent to the placing, to the . . . . Company's Account, nor otherwise charge the said Company with any more or greater sums than he shall really, and in good Faith, pay for all or any Goods, Merchandizes, or Effects, which he shall buy, or cause, procure, or consent to be bought, for, or on Account of, the said Company . . . . that he shall and will bring to the account of the . . . . Company, in the Books of the . . . . Company, the full Rates and Prices for which he shall sell, or cause to be sold, any of the . . . . Company's Goods, Merchandizes, or Effects . . . . that he will not directly or indirectly, take, accept, or receive, or agree to take, accept, or receive, any Gift, Reward, Gratuity, Allowance, Compensation, Sum or Sums of Money whatsoever, from any Person or Persons, of whom he the said A. B. shall, by himself, or any Agent for him, buy or barter any Goods, Merchandizes, Treasure, or Effects, for, or upon Account of, the said Company ; and further, that he will not take, accept, or receive, or agree to take, accept or receive, any Gift, Reward, Gratuity, Allowance, Compensation, Sum or Sums of Money whatsoever, from any Person or Persons to whom he the said A. B. shall, directly or indirectly, by himself, or any Agent for him, sell or barter any goods, Merchandizes, Treasure, or Effects, of or belonging to, or for, upon account of, the said Company . . . . that he . . . . shall and will (before he shall leave the said Company's Factories or Settlements) pay and discharge all and every such sum or sums of Money as he shall justly owe, or be indebted to any of the black Merchants or Natives of the Country where the said A. B. shall be, together with such other sums as he shall owe abroad to any other Merchants or Persons not being subjects of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, or his successors ; . . . . that he . . . . shall and will, from Time to Time, when and as often as he shall be thereunto required by the . . . . Company, or their successors, or by the President, Agent, or Chief, and

Council, of the Place where the said A. B. shall be, remove to any such other Factories, as such President, Agent, or Chief, and Council shall so direct or require . . . that he . . . shall, at all Times, during the Time of his service aforesaid, faithfully and diligently demand himself as a good, honest, and faithful, servant towards the . . . Company, and their successors, and those by them authorized, and lovingly and peaceably towards his consorts" (15). (Sic) Further, the Covenant stated: "And upon Condition, that the said A. B. shall in all things perform his covenants, and to encourage him so to do, It is further covenanted and agreed, by and between the said Parties to these Presents, *that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said A. B.* (16) and the said Company doth accordingly license the said A. B. during the said Five Years, commencing as aforesaid, *freely to trade and traffic*, (17) for his own Account only, from Port to Port in India, or elsewhere, within the Limits aforesaid, (18) but not to or from any Place without the same, without any Lett, Hindrance, or Interruption, from them the said Company, their successors or Assigns, so as the said Trade and Traffic, so to be carried on and driven in India or elsewhere, within the Limits aforesaid, or any Part thereof, be subject to such Rules, Regulations, and Limitations, as the said Company, or the Court of Directors . . . have already directed, or shall from Time to Time hereafter direct and appoint, and be not to the Hurt or Prejudice of the said Company and their successors, or of their Trade or Commerce ; and so as whatever is so traded for by the said A. B. by virtue of this Agreement, be particularly entered in Books of the said Company, to be kept for that purpose in all the Factories of the said Company respectively in the East Indies, or elsewhere within the Limits aforesaid, where such Trade shall be driven."

Moreover, with a view to protecting the people of this country against oppression, the covenant provided for the following safeguard:—

"And for as much as grievous Complaints have been made to the . . . Company, that several of the . . . Company's Presidents and Chiefs of their Factories, and several of such Persons as are of their Councils in their

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(15) The words from "and lovingly" etc.,.....to "consorts" do not occur in the third covenant referred to before.

(16) The italics are ours.

(17) The italics are ours.

(18) We may also note the following specific directions of the Court of Directors here:—

"The Company's servants upon the Establishment of the West Coast of Sumatra and all Persons there under the Protection of the Company are to have the liberty of resorting to, and trading at, all and any of the Company's settlements in the East Indies, and at all other Places within the Company's Limits in as full, free, and extensive a manner as the rest of the Company's Servants and others residing under their Protection at their Presidencies and other Settlements do at present, they paying the Company's duties at all such Places, according to the usual and customary methods and Rates established at such Places.

"The Trade upon the West Coast is to be reciprocally and in like manner open and free to all the rest of Company's servants in the East Indies, and all such Persons as trade under the Company's Protection."—See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 25th March, 1757.

Factories, or some of them, as also their Factors, Agents, and Servants, have committed very heinous and grievous offences in such Factories of the . . . . Company, and elsewhere in the East Indies, and other Places within the said Company's Limits of Trade, by unjustly menacing, imprisoning, assaulting, abusing, and evil treating, the Natives and Black Merchants, and others with whom the said Company had dealings or Correspondence; and by such Means, and other Violences, Abuses, and Injuries, have . . . extorted and forced great sums of Money, and other valuable Effects, from such injured Persons, who by Reason of the great Distance from this Kingdom, and the wholesome Laws thereof, and by Reason that the said Company have not been enabled to obtain and render satisfaction for such Injuries and Misdemeanours, are and have been remediless: Now it is hereby agreed by and between the said Parties to this Presents, and the said A. B. doth . . . . Covenant and agree, to and with the . . . . Company that in case any Sum or Sums of Money, goods or chattels whatsoever, shall at any time or Times hereafter, be extorted, forced, or taken, by him . . . . (either separately or jointly with others) from any Person or Persons whatsoever, within the . . . . Company's Limits of Trade, by the Means or Use of Imprisonments, Assaults, Violences, Menaces, or other Force or Compulsion whatsoever, then and as often as any such offence or offences shall be committed, it shall and may be useful, to and for every Person or Persons injured thereby, to make and send over Complaints and Attestations thereof in writing, to the Court of Directors of the . . . . Company . . . ., and that upon the Receipt of such Complaints, and Attestations it shall and may be lawful to and for the Court of Directors . . . . to enquire into the Truth of the said Complaints, by all such Ways and Means as they shall think just and equitable, and thereupon to hear the matter of the . . . Complaint or Complaints, and thereupon finally to judge and determine the same, and to award Satisfaction and Reparation to be made by the said A. B. to the . . . . Company, for the Benefit of such injured Persons. And the said A. B. doth hereby . . . . covenant and agree, to and with the . . . . Company, will and truly to pay to the . . . . Company, at such Time or Times as shall be limited by the . . . . Court of Directors (or the major Part of them) for that purpose, all and every such sum and sums of Money as shall be so awarded by the . . . Court of Directors . . . . to be paid as aforesaid: But in Trust nevertheless, and to the Intent, that the said Company may and do render, and pay over, the Monies received or recovered by them, to the Parties injured or defrauded, which the . . . . Company accordingly hereby agree and covenant to do: And the said A. B. doth furthermore . . . . covenant and agree . . . to pay and satisfy to the . . . Company, for their own Use and Benefit, all such Damages as they shall have sustained by Reason or Means of any such offence or offences as aforesaid."

The writer was also precluded by the covenant from having any direct or indirect concern in trade to and from Europe. It stated: "And the said A. B. doth . . . . covenant and agree . . . . that he . . . . will not at any Time, during his Residence in the East Indies, or within the said

Company's Limits, directly or indirectly, (19) by himself, or in conjunction with any Person or Persons whatsoever, carry on or use, or be concerned in, any Sort of Trade, Traffic, or Merchandize, either from Europe to the East Indies, or to any Place within the . . . . Company's Limits, between the Cape of Good Hope, and the Straits of Magellan, or from the East Indies, or from any Place within the . . . . Company's Limits, to Europe, or to or from any Place whatsoever, although not within the . . . . Company's Limits of Trade, save and except for, and on Account of, the said Company, nor shall carry on, use, or be concerned in, any Trade or Traffic whatsoever, but such as is expressly allowed by and according to the true Intent and Meaning of these Presents . . . . that he . . . . shall and will pay, or cause to be paid, unto the said Company, as and by way of stated Damages, double the value of all and every the Goods and Merchandizes traded for, bartered, or trafficked with, by the said A. B. his Agent or Agents, contrary to the true Meaning of these Presents, and moreover, shall forfeit and lose all and every the Benefits and Advantages which the said A. B. . . . would otherwise be entitled unto, from the . . . . Company, and shall also from thenceforth cease to be the said Company's servant or Agent" (20).

Finally, the covenant stated: "It is hereby covenanted, concluded, and agreed, by and between the Parties hereto, and it is their true Intent and Meaning, that if the said A. B. shall continue in the said Company's service after the Expiration of the said Term of Five Years, that *such continuance shall be upon the same Terms, Conditions, and Agreements, as are hereinbefore made and agreed upon*, (21) for the said Term of Five Years, save and except, that if the said A. B. shall rise to any superior Place or Office than what he is hereby employed in or appointed for, that then he . . . . shall have and

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(19) The following additional words occur in the 3rd Covenant mentioned before, after the word "indirectly" :—

"trade, correspond, traffic, deal, with or for, or be in any wise aiding, assisting, or employed as Agent, or Factor, by, or for any foreign Company trading in or to the East Indies, or any Person or Persons whatsoever, who do or shall, during the continuance of these Presents, Traffic, adventure, or trade to, in, or from, the East Indies, or elsewhere, within the Limits of the said Company's Trade, by or under, or by virtue of, any Foreign Commission, License, or Authority whatsoever, nor shall or will".

(20) "And in order," said the Covenant, "to a Discovery of, and a Satisfaction for, such illicit trade as aforesaid, It is hereby agreed, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said.....Company, and their successors, to file any Bill or Bills of Complaint or Discovery, in his Majesty's High Court of Chancery or Court of Exchequer, against him the said A.B. his Executors and Administrators, whereunto the said A.B. doth hereby agree, that neither he, nor they, shall or will demur or plead in Bar of the Discovery or Relief, sought by such Bill or Bills, that thereby he or they is, are, may, or shall become liable to any Penalty or Forfeiture, by Force or any Law or Statute, Bond, Covenant, or Agreement, or otherwise howsoever, but shall make and put in a full and perfect Answer and Answers to all the Parts thereof, and shall not, in such Answer and Answers, insist upon any Penalty, Forfeiture, Law or Statute, Bond, Covenant, or Agreement, or allege any Matter whatsoever, whereby to prevent, bar, or preclude the said Company from the Discovery or Relief, sought, to be sought, by such Bill or Bills as aforesaid . . . ."

The words in the text from "and moreover, etc. . . . ." to "servant or Agent" do not occur in the 3rd Covenant.

(21) The italics are ours.

receive such Wages as are usually paid to officers in the like advanced Stations, Places, or Employments."

We have given above at length, for the sake of precision, the principal clauses of what we have called the first Covenant. And this covenant, as already noted, was supplemented by what has been referred to before as the second covenant, in one material respect. The latter declared, with a view to providing against the acceptance of any gift, reward, gratuity, etc., by any servant of the Company, as follows:—

"Whereas . . . . A. B. is now employed in the service of the . . . . Company as one of their writers and Covenant servants, at their Chief Settlement of Fort William in Bengal . . . . : Now this Indenture witnesseth, and the said A. B. in compliance with a Resolution of a General Court of the said . . . . Company, and for and in consideration of what he is, or shall be, intitled to receive from the . . . . Company, in respect of his . . . service, or in respect of any other station, Capacity, or Employment, in which the said A. B. may hereafter be retained or employed by the . . . . Company, or their Court of Directors, doth . . . . covenant, promise, and agree, to and with the . . . . Company, that he . . . . shall not, nor will at any time or Times hereafter during his being employed in the . . . . Company's service, in any station or capacity whatsoever, either by himself or by any other Person or Persons whatsoever, in Trust for him, or for his use, directly or indirectly, accept, take, or receive, or agree to accept, take, or receive, any Gift or Grant of Lands, or Rents or Revenues issuing out of Lands, or any Territorial Possession, Jurisdiction, Dominion, Power, or Authority whatsoever, from any of the Indian Princes, Sovereigns, Subahs, or Nabobs, or any of their Ministers, Servants, or Agents for any service or services, or upon any Account or Pretence whatsoever, without the License or Consent of the Court of Directors . . . . , nor shall or will . . . . accept, take, or receive any Gifts, Reward, Gratuity, Allowance, Donation, or Compensation, in Money, Effects, Jewels, or otherwise howsoever, from any of the Indian Princes, Sovereigns, Subahs, or Nabobs, or any of their Ministers, Servants, or Agents, exceeding the Value of Four Thousand Rupees, for any Service or Services performed, or to be performed, by the said A. B. in India, or upon any other Account or Pretence whatsoever, without the like License or Consent of the said Court of Directors . . . . nor any such Reward, (etc.) . . . . exceeding the value of One thousand Rupees, and under the Value of Four thousand Rupees, without the License or Consent of the President and Council . . . . of the . . . . Settlement (22)

(22) It may also be noted here that in a subsequent letter to the Governor-General and Council at Fort William, dated 31st January, 1776, the Court directed:—

"It is our positive command that no person in our service do presume to ask, accept, or receive, directly or indirectly any gift, gratuity, reward, or Benefit from any Farmer of our Lands, or Revenues, or on account of any Farm."

Under Regulation II of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, Fort William, dated 14th May, 1772, the farmer's payments to Government were to be "ascertained and established, and no Demand made upon him, over and above the sum expressed in the Doul or Rent Roll delivered him with his Lease."—See Proceedings, Controlling Committee of Revenue, Fort William, Thursday, 14th May, 1772.

. . . . and that he . . . . shall and will convey, design, and make over, to the . . . . Company, for their sole and proper use and Benefit, all and every such Gifts or Grants of Lands, or Rents or Revenues issuing out of Lands, or any such Territorial Possession, etc., . . . . ; and also account for and pay to the . . . . Company . . . all and every such Gifts, Rewards, (etc.) . . . . , which, contrary to the true Intent and Meaning of these presents, shall come to the Hands, Possession, or Power of the said A. B. or any other Person or Persons in Trust for him, or for his use as aforesaid."

It may be noted here that this covenant for the prevention of the acceptance of presents by the Company's civil servants had been prepared in pursuance of a "Resolution of a General Court of Proprietors held" on 2nd May, 1764, and that it was ordered by the Court of Directors to be entered into by all the civil servants of the Company in Bengal, including the Governor (23). And the Governor and Council at Fort William were required by the Court to see that the covenant was executed "by all Persons (24) and that the Execution of them . . . . attested by proper witnesses." Moreover, the Court desired that every servant should execute the covenant in duplicate so that one copy of it might be retained by the Governor and Council and the other might be sent to it in England, to be made use of as occasions might arise (25).

The third covenant which, as has been said before, embodied in essence the terms of the first covenant, also contained the following additional stipulation (26) :

"In case the said A. B. (the writer) shall make default in any of the Covenants (27) hereinbefore contained, or shall embezzle any of the said

(23) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 1st June, 1764, para. 53.

It may also be noted here that a covenant with the same object in view as in the case of the covenant intended for the civil servants, was ordered by the Court to be entered into by all the military officers of the Company in Bengal.

(24) Presumably, following its usual custom (see the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 25th March, 1757, para. 94) the Court sent a number of blank covenant forms for execution by its servants.

Also see the Company's General Letter from Europe, dated 10th April, 1771, to the President and Council at Fort William.

(25) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 1st June, 1764, para. 53.

It may be noted here that although the new covenant against the receiving of presents by the servants of the Company from the Indian Powers had arrived here on 24th January, 1765, together with the Court's letter of 1st June, 1764, requiring the execution thereof by those servants, they had not been actually executed by them before the Select Committee at Fort William ordered their execution on 7th May, 1765. Nor had they, according to a Parliamentary Report, even been placed by the Governor, Mr. Spencer, before his Council at Fort William; nor again, had any notice been given to other servants of the Company in Bengal that they were required to execute the covenant. See the Commons Report, 3rd, 8th April, 1773; also the General Letter (from the President and Council) from Bengal to the Court, dated 30th September, 1765; also Lord Clive's Letter to Court, dated at Calcutta 30th September, 1765; also Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 7th May, 1765; also Select Committee's (Fort William) Letter to Court dated 30th September, 1765.

(26) See the Commons Report, First, App. 1.

(27) This word obviously refers here to the stipulations in the Covenant as previously stated.

Company's Money, Goods, or Effects, or be guilty of any Breach of Trust towards the said Company, or shall be concerned in buying, bartering, selling, or disposing of any Artillery, Ordnance, Musquets, Fire Arms, Ammunition, or Warlike Stores, to or for the use of any Prince, Nabob, or Country Power in India, or of the Natives there, without the express License of the . . . . . Company, or their Court of Directors, or of the . . . . . Company's President and Council, at the respective Settlement where such buying, bartering, or selling, shall be ; or in case the said A. B. shall, at any Time during the continuance of these Presents, without the like License and authority as aforesaid, hold correspondence with any Prince, Nabob, or Country Power in India, or any of their Ministers, or shall supply, lend to, or procure, for the use of any Foreign Company trading in, or to India, or any Person or Persons trading under the License or Authority of such foreign Company, any Money, at Respondentia or any other security, Loan, or Engagement whatsoever ; . . . . . then, and in each and every of the said cases, it shall be lawful for the . . . . . Company and their . . . . . Court of Directors, or the President and Council at the . . . . . Settlement . . . . . and they are hereby respectively declared to have full Power and authority for that Purpose, to suspend, or wholly dismiss, the said A. B. from the . . . . . Company's Service and Employment ; the said A. B. having first had Notice given him of such his offence or Default, and a reasonable Time allowed to make his Defence against the same, and having been convicted thereof. And it is hereby further expressly covenanted and agreed . . . . . that in case of such Dismission as aforesaid, or in case the said A. B. shall, during the continuance of these Presents, be minded to quit or resign the . . . . . Company's service, and such Resignation shall be accepted and agreed to, by the . . . . . Company or their Court of Directors, or their President and Council . . . . . that then, and in either of the said cases of Dismission from, or voluntary Resignation of, the said Service, it shall not be lawful for the said A. B. to enter into any new or fresh Engagements or Concerns whatsoever, in the way of Trade or Merchandize ; but he shall wholly forbear and be prohibited therefrom ; but nevertheless, the said A. B. shall, in any or either of the said cases, be at Liberty, and have Power and authority to sell and dispose of his Merchandizes and Effects, which he shall have on Hand, or which shall be then fairly and truly belonging to him, and to collect and get in such outstanding Debts as shall be then due and owing to him in Trade, or otherwise. And for the more effectually carrying the said last mentioned Covenant and Agreement into Execution, it is hereby declared to be the true Intent and Meaning of these Presents ; and the said A.B. doth hereby covenant, promise, and agree . . . . . that in case of such Dismission from, or quitting and resigning, the said Company's Service and Employment, he . . . . . shall and will, within one year after the same shall happen, or by the first Passage that can be obtained after the expiration of the said One Year, transport himself, together with his Family, to Great Britain, in such Ship employed by the . . . . . Company, or by their Court of Directors, or their President and Council as aforesaid ; and shall not, nor will upon any account or Pretence whatsoever, stay or continue any longer



in the East Indies." And lest he should in any way manage to evade this obligation, and continue to remain in the East Indies, the Covenant further provided: "And moreover in case the said A.B. shall make Default (28) in the said last mentioned covenant, the said A.B. doth hereby consent and agree . . . . . that from and immediately after such Default, it shall and may be lawful for the . . . . . Company, or their Court of Directors, or their President and Council . . . . to cause the said A.B. to be apprehended and detained, and to put him and his family on Board any Ship employed by the . . . . Company, for the Purpose of being transported to Great Britain, so nevertheless that no unnecessary Delay be sought, nor any fit Occasion or Opportunity lost in so doing . . . . And further . . . . the said A.B. doth hereby covenant, promise, and agree . . . that he . . . . shall not, nor will . . . . sue, or prosecute the . . . . Company, or their Court of Directors, or any of their Presidents and Council (*sic.*), Commanders or officers of any such ship, or any other Person employed in any of the Matters aforesaid, in or by any Action, Suit, or other Prosecution, Civil or Criminal, in respect of such Apprehending and Detaining him . . . . or of Putting on Board and Transporting him . . . and his Family, to Great Britain, in Manner aforesaid . . ."

In connexion with the third covenant the Court of Directors wrote to the President and Council at Fort William (29) on 10th April, 1771 :—

"To remedy several defects in the engagements which have been formerly entered into, by our servants, both civil and military and by surgeons, free merchants, (30) free mariners (31) and others, that are now, or may hereafter be employed by the Company, or permitted to reside in India under our License and Protection, we have thought proper (with the advice of our standing Counsel and Solicitor) to add some clauses to the covenants usually entered into by the civil and military servants and Free merchants, *in order to restrain them from assisting foreign Companies, or supplying country powers with war-like stores, and to prevent them from remaining in India beyond a time limited*

(28) I.E. did not leave for Great Britain as required by the Covenant.

(29) See the Company's General Letter from Europe dated 10th April, 1771, para. 85.

(30) Free merchants were not in the service of the Company. They were permitted, however, by the Company to carry on trade on their own account, subject to the terms of a covenant into which they were required to enter. They enjoyed the Company's protection within the limits of its charter. It may be noted here that in its General Letter to Bengal, dated 26th March, 1766, the Court ordered it to be observed "as an invariable Rule or Standing Order" that no free merchant, nor any other person, proceeding to or residing in the East Indies, whether with or without its permission, should be admitted or taken into either the civil or military service of the Company on any pretence whatsoever without its express leave.

See Bolts, *Considerations on India affairs*, 1772, Chapter X, in this connexion.

Every free merchant had to give a security of £2000 for the proper performance of his covenant.—See the Company's General Letter from Europe, dated 10th April, 1771.

(31) Free mariners, writes Mr. Bolts, were usually permitted "to go out upon only giving security not to become chargeable to the Company." They too had to enter into an Agreement.

See Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, Chapter X.

Every free mariner had to give a security of £500 for the proper performance of his covenant. See the Company's General Letter from Europe, dated 10th April, 1771.

(sic) after proper notice given them to depart." (32) Further, the Court issued a "positive order and direction" that every civil and military servant of the Company (as well as every surgeon, assistant surgeon, free merchant and free mariner) should, as soon after the arrival of the Covenant by the *Colebrooke* as convenient, be required to execute the new covenant. "And should any person", the Court continued, "refuse a compliance with this our order; if he is in our service he must be dismissed therefrom, and sent home, or if one under our protection, such protection is to be withdrawn from him, and the person so refusing, to be sent to England."

The extracts from the writer's covenants given above will indicate the varied and comprehensive nature of his (33) conditions of service under the Company. Besides, the writers as well as other civil servants of the Company had to give securities "for the performance of their covenants, securities being given in each case by two persons in England." (34) The amounts of the securities which used to be taken from the different ranks of the civil servants were as follows (35):—

	£
A writer had to give a security of	500
A factor	1000
A Junior Merchant	2000
A Senior Merchant	3000
A Councillor	4000
A Governor	10,000

Thus as a covenanted servant would "advance in station", he had to give the usual higher security, agreeably "to the usage of the Company" (36). And the Court of Directors repeatedly insisted upon this, and required the Governor and Council to see that its direction in this respect was "punctually complied with" by its servants concerned (37). Those who would execute fresh covenants in India were required by the Court of Directors "to desire two responsible persons in England to enter into . . . Security Bonds" on their behalf, in the sums fixed by the Court against their ranks (38).

(32) The italics are ours.

(33) "The same covenants (as in the case of writers) have," writes Mr. William Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, p. 115, "have been usually entered into by those who went out (to India) in any superior station, varied only with regard to the period of servitude . . . a larger salary, and giving security for a larger sum."

(34) See the Company's General Letter from Europe to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 10th April, 1771.

(35) And each surgeon or assistant surgeon, £1000; each free merchant, £2000; each free mariner, £500.

See the Company's General Letter from Europe, dated 10th April, 1771, addressed to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal; also the Commons Report, 1st., 26th May, 1772, Appendix 1; also Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, p. 115 n.

(36) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 11th February, 1756, para. 82.

(37) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 25th March, 1757, para. 94.

(38) See the Company's General Letter from Europe, dated 10th April, 1771, to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, para. 88.

Covenanted servants were required (39) by the Court to give "Twelve months notice of their intentions for quitting" the Company's service, and the Court also directed (40) that they were "not to be suffered to come away (from India) before the expiration of that Term." Further, (41) it stated that "upon the Expiration of the said Twelve Months notice", they should no longer be in the Company's service, unless it should most evidently appear to the President and Council (at Fort William) (42) that it would be "for the Interest of the Company to continue them until our further pleasure is known."

We also find in the Company's General Letter (para. 90) to Bengal, dated 23rd March, 1770, that under 9 George I, Ch. XXVI, (43) a covenanted servant of the Company, who would be dismissed from, or would resign, its service, might have notice given to him to quit India unless he was otherwise lawfully authorized to continue here. And if he refused to depart from the East Indies after a reasonable time allowed to him—twelve months would ordinarily be considered sufficient—"for settling his accounts and calling in his Effects" he was liable to be seized and brought to England and prosecuted as an offender under the provisions of the Act. The Court desired, (44) however, that this power was "to be very tenderly exercised in all cases, and only for the sake of Public Good where the Privileges and Commerce of the Company" were "invaded by such offenders, their Regulations violated and their European or Indian Enemies abetted and supported" (45).

(39) See the Company's Letter to Bengal, dated 19th February, 1762, para. 53.

(40) *Ibid.*

(41) See *Ibid.*

(42) In the case of Bengal.

(43) Reference is to sections VI and VII of the Act (9 George I, Ch. XXVI).

Section VI of the Act provided:—"If any Person or Persons, Subject or Subjects of his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors (other than such as are lawfully authorized thereunto) shall at any Time or Times from and after the four and twentieth Day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four, go, sail, or repair to, or be, or be found in or at the East Indies, . . . every Person and Persons so offending, are and are hereby declared to be guilty of a high Crime and Misdemeanour, and shall and may be prosecuted for the same in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster . . . and/such Person and Persons so offending, being convicted thereof shall be liable to such corporal Punishment or Imprisonment, or to such Fine, as the Court where such Prosecution shall be commenced shall think fit; one Moiety of such Fine to be the use of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and the other Moiety thereof to him or them that shall inform and sue for the same."

And Section VII of the Act said:—"All and every Person and Persons so offending, shall and may be seized and brought to England; and it shall and may be lawful to and for any one or more of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and they are hereby authorized and required to commit all and every such Person and Persons to the next Country Gaol, there to remain until sufficient security be given by Natural-born subjects or Denizens, to appear in the Court where such Suit or Prosecution shall be commenced or depending, to answer the same, and not to go or depart out of Court, or out of this Kingdom, without the Leave of the said Court."

(44) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 23rd March, 1770, para. 90.

(45) In a subsequent letter, however, the Court stated:—

"In addition to what we wrote in our Letter of the 23rd of March 1770 (see the text above), we now direct, that no person or persons whatever, already sent, or who may

## LENDING OF MONEY BY THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS PROHIBITED.

One of the sources of income of many of the servants of the Company was the high rate of interest which they used to earn by lending money to Zemindars and others. This often led to many undesirable complications both in administration and the collection of revenues. For instance, before a meeting of the Select Committee held at Fort William on 5th October, 1765, Clive laid a letter from Mahomed Reza Cawn, Nawab's Minister, (46) in which the latter had represented (47) "the manifold inconveniences resulting to publick Business and the great obstruction arising to the Collection of the Revenues, from allowing the Gentlemen of the Factories of Dacca and Luckypoor to interfere in the affairs of the Government, and had requested, among other things, that in future neither they nor their dependants should be allowed to lend money to Zemindars. Difficulties obviously arose from the assertion of the priority of claims to the income of Zemindars for the payment of interest,

hereafter be sent to India in our service, either as a Writer, Cadet, or otherwise, be permitted to resign the same in order to adopt any other mode of employment, or to engage in any line of business incompatible with the said service; and we especially direct, that no resignation be permitted in order to enable any person whatever to accept of any Office . . . . But whenever any person or persons shall resign, as aforesaid, he or they must be required and compelled to return to England within the time limited (*sic*) by Law; for we will not permit any person whatever to remain in India, after resignation of our service, without having first obtained our leave for that purpose."—From the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 5th July, 1780, para. 45.

(46) Also referred to as "naib Dewan and prime minister."—See Proceedings, Select Committee, Barasut (Barasat), 31st December, 1766.

(47) The letter from Mahomed Reza Cawn had been received on 4th October, 1765.

It had stated: "There are many persons, who with the pretence of debts being due to them, making (*sic*) use of the name of the factory, disturb the Zemindars and districts of the Chuila (Chucila?) of Jehangeer Nuggur (Dacca), and sending peons to seize people, obstruct the revenues of the sircar. The particulars are very long . . . . Moreover several evasive Jemindars and Talookdars borrow more or less from the dependants of the factories, and when their rents are demanded from them, go and shelter themselves under their protection, so as to be out of the power of the Aumils. With the pretences of debts being due from them, they carry their creditors into their districts, and embezzle the revenues, so that the money of the Sircar remains unpaid; and spreading about reports, that numbers of villages are rented to the dependants of the factory, they practise villainous tricks. I accordingly receive from the Aumils frequent complaints of these proceedings. . . . . As I do not conceive, that the interruptions of the revenues of the Sircar can be put a Stop to, without removing these pretences, I hope you will be kind enough to write to the gentlemen of the factories of Jehangeer Nuggur, and Luckypoor, etc., that none of the dependants of the factory must lend money to the Zemindar, etc., without the knowledge of the Aumil, nor hold any farms, nor interfere with the affairs of the Country, nor send any people into the Districts and make a disturbance; and that whatsoever demands they have upon the Zemindars, etc. they must lay the accounts therefore (*sic*) before Jessarut Cawn, the Naib of Jehangeer Nuggur, that he may oblige the Zemindars to pay whatsoever is just."—See *Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy, House of Commons, 1773, Appendix 65.*

etc., which the Company's servants, who would lend money to them, would often make (48).

The Committee took (49) "into consideration the great injury that must necessarily arise to the Company from any stop or impediment to the Collection of the Revenues," of which they had been "since the royal Grant of the Dewanny and the late agreement with the Nabob both the Collectors and Proprietors", and then resolved that positive orders should be issued to the Chiefs of Subordinates (and the Commanding Officers of brigades), "prohibiting them from lending money to the Zemindars or other servants of the Government on the Security of Lands, by lease or mortgage." Further, (50) the Committee directed that this order should be sent by the Chiefs of subordinates (and the Commanding officers of brigades) "to the several Gentlemen and others acting under them in inferior stations," who were also prohibited from lending money.

It appears however from the proceedings of the meeting of the Select Committee held at Barasat (51) on 31st December, 1766, that the above-mentioned direction of the Committee had been "transgressed to the great detriment of the collections." It, therefore, resolved to enforce it now. With a view to this, it directed "that no money shall in future be lent 'except on respondentia' upon any pretence whatever at a higher interest than 12 per cent per annum ; (and) that all sums of money outstanding at a higher premium shall be recalled on the 11th day of April next (i.e. 1767)" (52). It also

(48) That such things happened is corroborated by the following extract from a Report of a Parliamentary Committee :—

"And your Committee find, that the exaction of exorbitant interest for money lent to the Zemindars and others, has been another cause of diminution of the revenue of the Company in Bengal."—From *Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Commons . . . to enquire into the state of the East India Company, 1773.*

(49) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 5th October, 1765.

(50) See *Ibid.*

Also :—

"The more effectually to remove every cause of complaint and render the ministers responsible for the collection of the stated Revenue, we have directed that none besides those who are employed in certain public stations shall in future correspond with the officers of the Government hold lands *lend money to the Zemindars* or take any other means of improving their fortunes or acquiring influence in the Country that may tend to disturb distress or defraud either the administration or the people and this prohibition we have extended to all your servants Civil and Military and their Dependants—It was the earnest request of the ministers that we should impose such restrictions and we thought compliance but reasonable as we were well assured that the Revenue had suffered from the excess these practices were carried."—See the letter from the Select Committee to the Court of Directors dated at Calcutta 31st January, 1766, para. 9. The italics are ours.

(51) In the relevant manuscript the word is spelt as "Barasult". It obviously is Barasat (near Calcutta).

(52) See the proceedings of the meeting of the Select Committee held at Barasat on 31st December, 1766.

decided (53) to write the following letter to the Chiefs of all the subordinate factories and the Residents at Burdwan and Midnapore :—

“SIR,

On the 5th day of October, 1765, the Select Committee issued orders that no civil or military servants of the Company, their Banyans or dependents etc. should after that date lend money upon lease, mortgage or otherwise to the Zemindars and other officers of the Government without the knowledge and consent of Mahomed Reza Cawn and the ministers (54).

“It is with concern we now understand that this order has been disregarded to the great prejudice of the revenue and injury of the Company. We therefore direct that you will make strict Enquiry who are the transgressors and transmit to us the names of all such as have lent out money without obtaining the approbation of the Ministers and contrary to the injunctions of the Select Committee.

“At the same time it is our positive resolution that henceforward no British subject in or out of the Company’s service or their dependents shall lend money unless upon respondentia at a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent per annum and that such sums of money as have been lent at a higher interest shall be recalled on the 11th day of April next on pain of immediate dismission and forfeiture of the Company’s protection, of which resolution we direct you will make publication in due form taking the most effectual steps to see it strictly obeyed.

FORT WILLIAM

31st December 1766.”

It may be interesting to note here that sometimes a servant of the Company would enter into collusive arrangements with a Nawab, or his Ministers, or others, with a view to receiving from them “Presents or Gratuities” in the name of interest on loans, either actual or fictitious. For the purpose of stopping such collusive arrangements, the Court stated in its General Letter to Bengal, dated 17th May, 1766 (55) :—

“Having reason to believe that many of our servants have received Presents or Gratuities from the Nabobs, their Ministers or others in a Collusive manner by way of exorbitant Interest on Moneys lent or said to be lent to them by our said servants ; in order therefore to put a stop to such extortions and exactions (for in that light we see them) we do hereby order and direct, that if in future anyone of our servants Civil or Military, shall directly or indirectly demand, accept or receive from any Person or Persons whatsoever for the Loan of any Sum or Sums of money, real or nominal in Bengal or in any other part or Province of India (excepting only such monies as he may

(53) See *Ibid.*

(54) We do not find the words from “without, etc. . . . to ministers” in the Proceedings of the meeting of the Select Committee, Fort William, of 5th October, 1765.

(55) Para. 48.

from time to time lend on Respondentia) any kind of Premium, Gratuity or advantage whatsoever over and above Twelve per cent per annum Interest ; such servant upon being convicted thereof let his Rank or Station be what it may, is to be forthwith suspended from the Company's service."

We may also record here, in connexion with the question of loans by the Company's servants, an unhappy incident. It appears from a General Letter (56) to the Court of Directors *per Latham*, dated at Fort William 10th November, 1773, that Raja Kissenchand, Zemindar of Nadia, owed a debt to one Mr. W. Lushington, a covenanted servant of the Company. When the Raja came on one occasion to Calcutta "on the Business of his Zemindary," he was arrested "in the Public Street by a writ from the Mayor's Court at the suit of Mr. Lushington." "As this was," said the President and Council in their General Letter referred to above, "the first Instance in our knowledge of any of the Rajas under the Country Government being made amenable to our British Courts It became an immediate object of our Consultation After duly considering the charter of Justice, we declined coming to an opinion on the competency of the Court, reflecting that this point might come before us in a judicial capacity by way of appeal." But they considered it highly incumbent upon them "to call Mr. Lushington to account for a step so unprecedented and so detrimental in its tendency to the Company's interest." "Were the Zemindars subjected to be arrested on their attendance at the Khalsa (57) for the Business of the Districts, the Collections," they observed, "must suffer and in cases of tedious confinement, the whole years revenue might be lost besides We can easily suppose (knowing the Intrigues of these men) that collusive suits against them might be instigated by themselves and undertaken to serve as pretexts for their Deficiencies and nonpayment of their arrears." "On these grounds," they continued, "we judged that Mr. Lushington had acted in a most unjustifiable as well as unprecedented manner in this Instance preferring his private Interest in a matter of Small Importance to him to that of his Employers and in Contempt of the authority of this Government—without any previous application to them, seeking redress in a new channel which could not fail to create confusion in the administration of the Revenue." The Council was not satisfied with the explanation which Mr. Lushington had, when called upon by it, offered in defending his action. It would have dismissed him from the service of the Company but for its apprehension of a misunderstanding in England. It reported, however, the whole incident to the Court of Directors that the latter might "see what a disagreeable dilemma the conduct of one" of its covenanted servants had brought upon its affairs, and "the Credit, & Justice" of its administration. Moreover, with a view to preventing the repetition of such an incident as the Raja, it understood, had many other debts, the Council "resolved to give bail for his standing suit," and

(56) For further details, reference may be made to (Public Dept.) Consultations, Fort William, of 20th and 21st May, 1773.

(57) I.e. the exchequer; "the office of Government under the Muhammedan administration in which the business of the Revenue Department was transacted, and which was continued during the early period of British rule." It had been removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta.

ordered him to go back to his district. It also requested the Court to state its views on this subject for future guidance. Meanwhile, it published a proclamation forbidding all its servants "under penalty of Dismission" to lend money to Zemindars "under any pretence whatsoever," and requesting all persons who had any claims against them to resort "to the ordinary Courts of the Country for Justice."

In reply, the Court of Directors forwarded to the President and Council at Fort William the following opinion (58) of its Counsel on the case of Raja Kissenchund, for future guidance :—

"That it should be made a standing order of the Presidency and properly promulgated that no servant of the Company on pain of dismission shall lend money to the Zemindars or have any money dealings with them and those who have claims against them must if necessary resort only to the Courts of the Country for redress."

Thus the decision of the President and Council here was upheld by the Court's Counsel. It may be added here that at a meeting (59) held at Fort William on Thursday, the 14th of May, 1772, the Controlling Committee of Revenue had adopted the following regulation, (60) among others :—

"That . . . . the Collector (of Revenue) be forbid on pain of removal from his office, either to lend money himself, or to suffer his Banyan, or any other of his servants or dependants, to lend money to the Zemindars, Talucdars, farmers, Reiat (Ryots), or any other person whatever, within the district of which he shall have charge . . . . . And that all debts contracted Contrary to the Tenor of this Order, after the publication of it, shall be void."

And in its General Letter to Bengal, (61) dated 31st January, 1776, the Court of Directors ordered that the prohibition (contained in the above regulation) should be extended to all its servants "of every denomination," and that

(58) Dated 3rd August, 1774.—See General Letters from Court, Vol. 20, Imperial Record Department, Government of India.

(59) See Proceedings, Controlling Committee of Revenue, Fort William, 14th May, 1772.

(60) In justification of this regulation the Controlling Committee said that "every precaution ought to be taken, and every Restriction laid on the Collector," that would prevent "his Interest from clashing with the Duties of his Employ." It apprehended that the farmer who had "the Demands of Government and the Collector at the same time to answer" would be too apt to avail himself of such a situation to elude those of the former. The Collector would be naturally inclined "to allow a deference (preference?) to his own claims, unless it be supposed that all men are proof against the Temptations of private Interest, and will seek that of their employers at the Hazard of losing their own Fortunes." Further, it held that it was "the Duty of Government to lay such restraints on the Natural Licentiousness of Mankind as shall make the Interest of Individuals coincide with their Duty." "To presume", the Committee concluded, "that all men are possessed of Integrity, and to trust entirely to this principle, is to leave a Door open for every species of Depravity; for many will abuse the Confidence thus tacitly reposed on them; their Example will influence others; and, under the specious appellation of Perquisites, the most flagrant corruption will be admitted, even by Men whose Natural Principles, without such a Bias, would receive the offer of them with abhorrence."—*Ibid.*

(61) Para. 32.



any servant who would be "found offending against this order," should "be forthwith suspended from holding any employment under the Company" till its pleasure should be known.

It is perhaps unnecessary to point out here that the restriction imposed upon the civil and military servants of the Company in the matter of the lending of money by them as shown above, was certainly a very wholesome principle (62) of public administration, and was bound to conduce to their integrity and efficiency as public servants.

(62) The length which sometimes a servant of the Company would go in the abuse of his privileged position, is perhaps best illustrated from the case, not, fortunately, of a civil servant, but of a military servant, namely, Captain David Mackenzie, once Commanding Officer of the Company's Detachment on duty at Rangpore. Several complaints of a very serious nature had been made against him. One was: "Lending Money to the Zemindars and Farmers of Rungpore at a very exorbitant Interest, exacting a much higher Rate of Interest than what had been settled by Agreement; and by unwarrantable and forcible Means, extorting the Payment of these Exactions, to the no less Detriment of the Company's Revenue than the Distress of the poor immediate Sufferers." The Controlling Committee of Revenue at Fort William ordered in its letter dated at Fort William 14th November, 1771, an "immediate Investigation" into this as well as other charges against Captain Mackenzie, to be made by the Controlling Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad. It also directed the latter to communicate to it the result of its inquiries along with its opinion thereon. Accordingly, after a prolonged investigation in the course of which various witnesses had been examined, the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad wrote to the Controlling Committee of Revenue at Fort William the following, among other things:

"In Support of the first Charge (referred to above), undeniable Proof is brought that Captain Mackenzie did lend Money to the Zemindars and Farmers at the specified Rate of 5 P cent P Mensem; which appears to be considerably above the customary Premium of the place. That he did so is acknowledged by his own Servants who transacted the Business & publicly avowed by himself in his Correspondence with the Supervisor of Rungpore: It is no less Evident that a further Premium of 9 P Ct. P Mensem was insisted on, and exacted from the same People, on the same Loans, & on the same Accounts, by the most unjust & arbitrary Methods, contrary to all Faith of Agreement, and the express Tenor of the Contracts mutually entered into. To this Point no less than nine Witnesses, all Naibs or Vackeels of the Zemindars etc. in whose behalf they negotiated with Captain Mackenzie; have given their Depositions on Oath. They relate the Necessity they were under of dealing with this Gentleman, exorbitant as the Rates of Interest were which he demanded: from the Circumstance of other Merchants being deterred from engaging in the like Business, on Acct of the Competition which must arise in the Recovery of their Loans and in which his superior Power and Influence would undoubtedly preponderate. They specify the Rate of Interest first agreed to & inserted in their Bonds to be 5 P Cent P Mensem, but that when their Accounts came to be finally adjusted, or renewed on Payment of a Part of their Debts, they found themselves obliged by compulsive Means, (not only) to make good the stipulated Rate of Interest, but also a further Premium of 9 P Cent P Mensem. These compulsive Means are described to be Imprisonment and corporal Punishment: Several Instances of which are fully attested; one in particular, where a Sircar of Capt. Mckenzie having forcibly obtained the Renewal of a Bond including accumulated Interest, on that which was unlawfully exacted, the Captain demanded Payment accordingly; but being answered in complaint by the injured Person, instead of receiving the Reply looked for, the latter experienced his Resentment with such Marks of Cruelty that he remained for some Time senseless . . . . In short from the Circumstantial, minute, and concurring Testimony of all these Evidences, The exaction mentioned, and means used to obtain them are fully proved . . . . Having thus by so many corroborative Proofs ascertained the Business of the Loans, with all its concomitant Transactions, it is unnecessary to point

## SENDING INFORMATION TO ENGLAND IN PRIVATE.

It appears from several letters of the Court of Directors to Bengal that many servants of the Company here as well as elsewhere in India used to communicate in private information in regard to the affairs of the Company, to their friends, and to "His Majesty's Ministers and other Great Men" in England. Sometimes even they would send extracts from Consultations, Letters and other official "Papers containing very material Transactions," to their relations and friends at home. As this would often place the Court in an embarrassing position in England, it took a very serious view of such action on the part of the Company's servants, and strictly enjoined on them to forbear from it on pain of dismissal from the Company's service.

For example, in its letter to Bengal, dated 1st April, 1760, the Court wrote (63) to the President and Council: "We find it is a practice for some person (s) to send great men and others a minute account of our affairs and transactions abroad, we will not believe this is done with intentions prejudicial to our interest, but unknowingly to them our affairs may one day suffer greatly by such steps . . . . . it is perhaps very fortunate for the Company that the present ministry are their real and true friends: although this hint is principally occasioned by some advices which have been sent from Fort St. George & we have accordingly acquainted our servants there—if this practice is repeated by any person or persons whatsoever we shall highly resent it yet it is necessary you also should be informed thereof, and be assured that the like conduct in any of our servants or others at Bengal will highly incur our displeasure." Again, in its letter (64) to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 19th February, 1762, the Court stated:—

"We are sorry to observe that many Informations concerning the Company's Affairs have been sent to His Majesty's Ministers and other Great Men

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out & explain how far they must have been Detrimental to the Company's Revenue. The Confession of the Zemindars, & the Arrears of the Province afford the best Comment on this subject; tho' there is one Circumstance worthy of Remark. It is deposed on Oath that Monik Chund being hard pressed by C Mckenzie on Acct of Loans, the former had no means of making satisfaction, or disembarassing himself from the Cns Importunities, but by encroaching on the Company's Revenue, which he acknowledges to have done. Now by subsequent Information from the Supervisor of Rungpore, it appears that the very Sum which Monik Chund had pd. to Capt. Mckenzie was remitted to him from the Country expressly for the payment of a part of the Rents of the Province, and a Balance to the same Account stands against him (Monik Chund) to this Day on Acct of the appropriation mentioned."—Vide Proceedings, Controlling Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad, Monday, 22nd June, 1772; also O.C. No. 13, 22nd June, 1772, Controlling Council of Revenue, Moorshedabad; also See the Proceedings of the same Council from 2nd September, 1771, to 11th June, 1772, as well as the Proceedings thereof, of 30th July and 28th August, 1772, in this connexion.

These proceedings have also been published by the Bengal Secretariat Book Depot.

For the constitution and functions of the Controlling Committee of Revenue at Fort William and of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad, see the Author's "*Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar*," Vol. I, 1765-72, Chapter IV.

(63) See the Company's letter to Bengal, dated 1st April, 1760, para. 116.

(64) Para. 57.

from our Servants belonging to yours and our other Presidencies, some of which particularly upon the late Transactions with the Dutch in Bengal have much embarrassed us ; We wont say that such communications are made with a view to lessen the authority of the Court of Directors, but they certainly have a great tendency that way. You are therefore to use all possible means for putting a stop to this Practice, and as the Court of Directors is the only channel through which Government (65) receives all Informations concerning the Company's Affairs, if private informations therefore are sent from any of our servants or others under our Protection we shall deem such Persons unworthy of the Company's Service & they shall be certainly dismissed, whatever their Rank or Station may be."

The Court repeated the above direction in its General Letter (66) to Bengal, dated 1st June, 1764. It wrote therein to the President and Council at Fort William :

"We find many of our Servants have taken the Liberty of sending to their Relations and Friends Copies from your Consultations, Letters and other Papers containing very material Transactions and some of them before we have even received the Originals or any account of them. This is such a Breach of Duty to the Company as cannot be dispensed with, and therefore we absolutely forbid such practices in future, under the Penalty of our highest displeasure, of which you are to give Publick Notice for the Information of all our servants in general."

#### THE CASE OF SIR ROBERT BARKER

We may note in this connexion the case of Sir Robert Barker and the views of the Court thereon. It appears from the Court's General Letter to Bengal, dated 17th March, 1769, that Sir Robert Barker, who later on succeeded Brigadier General Richard Smith as the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in Bengal with the rank of Brigadier General, had written a private letter to Lord Clive "on matters of great importance relative to the Company's affairs." He had not sent, however, any official communication to the Court on those matters. The letter had been dated at Faizabad 21st April, 1768. It had presumably been sent via Bussorah where it had been enclosed in a packet from the Company's servants there, meant for the Court of Directors. The Court had duly received the packet along with Sir Robert's Letter. As it had been made to believe that the letter had dealt with matters in which the Company was interested, it desired Lord Clive to communicate to it such parts of its contents "as might be interesting to the Company." Thereupon, Lord Clive had "obligingly" sent to it a copy of the letter. The Court was not pleased with the action of Sir Robert Barker. "Sir Robert Barker," it stated in its letter referred to above, "would incur our severest displeasure did it not appear to us that he must be ignorant both of our repeated orders to all our servants never to omit any opportunity of communicating

(65) In England.

(66) Para. 48.

Intelligence to us, and not to make the Company's affairs the subject of Private Letters." "We shall therefore," the Court continued, "pass over Sir Robert Barker's conduct herein, but you are to signify to all our servants Civil and Military that they are not to make the Company's affairs the subject of their Private Letters, and that when any opportunity offers of communicating any intelligence to us by a channel which from distance or particular local circumstances cannot be known to our Governor and Council, they are not to fail to write to us."

Apart from what has been stated above, the Company took, as will appear from what will be stated hereinafter, other steps for ensuring in its servants a proper sense of economy, order and discipline, and a spirit of public service, as well as good conduct and goodwill towards the people of this Country: it issued, for instance, to its servants definite instructions from time to time with these objects in view, and enjoined upon its representatives at Fort William to see that the instructions were duly followed by the servants.

#### COUNCIL AND JUNIOR SERVANTS

The Governor and Council at Fort William were required by the Court to see that all the servants of the Company in Bengal discharged "the Duty of their several stations with Diligence and Care," and to take such measures for this purpose as they should think would be most effectual (67). If any writer did not behave to their satisfaction, he must be called before them and reprimanded once, twice or oftener, if they should think it fit to do so; and if that would not reclaim him, they were to dismiss him from the service of the Company and to send him forthwith to England, for, the Court said, "we are determined the Company shall not any longer be burthened with useless hands" (68). And it was practically on their recommendations that the Court acted in the matter of promoting their servants to higher stations. As stated before, the Court wrote (69) to the President and Council on 24th December, 1765:—"We heartily wish for the sake of Justice, for the good of the Company and for the Relief of ourselves, that we might depend on you our President and Council for the true characters of our servants in respect to Integrity, ability and assiduity, for without some such competent Guide, we may often be led into Error and suffer some to rise to stations for which they are unfit, and you are hereby directed to send us the proper Informations from time to time accordingly. As this is more particularly necessary with respect to the taking in Council those Persons who stand next in turn upon the List, you are to be extremely careful therefore not to admit any one into Council unless you are fully satisfied that his abilities, Integrity, Circumstances and good Character in general render him fit for so important a station. And whatever Person

(67) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 17th December, 1762, para. 36.

(68) *Ibid.*

(69) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765, para. 88.

shall be taken by you into Council to continue as such provisionally until you receive our approbation." (70)

In a previous letter (72) also the Court had stated : "You our Governor and Council must set the Example of Order, Method and Application ; the Junior servants should be *taught obedience and kept strictly to their Duty*, the *Negligent admonished*, and *where Admonition fails, suspend them the service until our Pleasure is Known*."

#### SERVANTS' MODE OF LIVING

Many of the junior servants of the Company used to live a life of "extravagance and dissipation." And this often led to their financial embarrassments, and also to various abuses on their part. The Court gradually came to know of this, and with a view to combating this evil, it wrote to the President and Council on 3rd March, 1758 (73):—

"The Indigence of our Junior servants, which may too often have been the effect of their vices and the imitation of their seniors hath not a little contributed to increase that load of complaints which have been so strongly and repeatedly urged by the Nabob in regard to the abuse of Dusticks, a practice we have ever disclaimed and are determined to show in future the strongest marks of our Resentment to such as shall be guilty of ; and do most positively order and direct (and will admit of no Representation for your postponing the Execution of) that no writer whatsoever be permitted to keep either Palankeen, Horse or Chaise during his writership, on pain of being immediately dismissed from our service."

Again, in its General Letter (74) to Bengal, dated 24th March, 1767, the Court stated that it had heard with concern and surprize of the expensive manner in which the young servants of the Company lived. The friends and relatives of many of them had complained to it "of the large Draughts made on them (75)." "Those who have not such resources we apprehend", the Court continued (76), "must run in debt to their Banians, the consequence of which will be that they will never be the free Masters of their own actions, and liable to be tempted to infidelity in the offices they are trusted with to extricate themselves from the difficulties in which their extravagancies involve them, This makes it an object of importance to us to have the expenses of

(70) See the *ibid*.

(72) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 3rd March, 1758, para. 119.

(73) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 3rd March, 1758 para. 132.

(74) Addressed to the President and Council at Fort William. See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 24th March, 1767, para. 36.

(75) We may note here that the total remuneration, apart from what he used to earn from his trade, which the Company had directed to be paid to a writer in one of its letters, was, as will appear from the following extract therefrom, 400 current rupees per annum :—

"We do hereby direct that the future appointment to a writer for salary Diet money & all allowances whatever be 400 current Rupees per annum."—From the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 3rd March, 1758, para. 131.

(76) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 24th March, 1767.

the young servants reduced within moderate bounds, and we have therefore thought proper to establish the following regulations, which will have strictly conformed to."

And the regulations referred to above were as follows (77):—

"As soon as apartments can be got ready in the new Fort, the Writers must be accommodated there and the allowance for House Rent must be struck off, and no Writer permitted to reside out of the new Fort without the express permission of the Governor, which must be minuted, together with the reasons upon your Proceedings.

"No Writer shall be allowed to keep a Pallankin unless you are fully convinced, that it is absolutely necessary for the preservation of his health.

"No Writer shall keep more than one servant besides a cook.

"No writer shall be permitted to keep a Horse without the express permission of the Govr.(78) and that only if declared necessary for his Health.

"No writer shall be permitted either for himself or jointly with others to keep a Country House.

"With respect to Table Liquors we cannot pretend to form regulations for them, but must recommend to the Governor and Council to have a watchful eye over the Junior servants in this respect, to check those who make themselves conspicuous in extravagance or intemperance.

"We hear much of the general extravagance in Dress. It is impossible for us to gain particular directions on this article of Expense, which should be relative to rank and fortune, neither of which can entitle the young servants to figure in it. We must depend on the advice and example our senior servants give to the Juniors, and that in this as well as in every other article of Luxury or Expense they conform to that system of Economy we are determined shall take place, and which ought to be chearfully entered into, as it is so evidently for their own advantage."

These regulations are very interesting, and their object is obvious. And lest any attempt should be made to evade them, the Court further said (79):—

"If any of our Writers refuse or decline to comply with the preceding Regulations or such as you shall establish you are to suspend them from our service and inform us of the particulars and then wait for our directions."

It appears, however, from a subsequent letter of the Court, dated 25th March, 1772, that, in spite of the measures referred to above, many junior servants of the Company did not desist from contracting large debts as a result "of their extravagance and dissipation," and that they even attempted to evade the obligation of the law in regard to debts, by managing to live outside the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta. With a view to

(77) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 24th March, 1767, paras. 37-43.

(78) *I.e.* Governor.

(79) *Ibid*, para. 44.

stopping these evils, the Court issued the following instructions on 25th March, 1772 (80):—

“Having reason to believe that sundry of our writers and Junior servants do by reason of their extravagance and dissipation contract large debts which they are unable to discharge and that they attempt to screen themselves from actions at Law by obtaining leave to reside at places where the Jurisdiction of the Mayor’s Court does not extend, we cannot but be anxious to prevent a practice equally unjust in itself and injurious to the honour of our service and as we deem such servants utterly unworthy our favour and protection it is our positive command that if any of our Junior servants shall, by endeavour to avoid prosecution from their creditors, be unable to attend the duty of their stations, they be immediately dismissed our service and sent to Europe and we expect and require that you use every legal means in your power to secure their effects for the benefit of their said respective creditors.”

#### COMPANY’S SERVANTS AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH GOVERNMENT’S OFFICERS.

With the exception of a few “employed in certain public stations,” servants of the Company were strictly forbidden to carry on any correspondence with any officer of the Nawab’s Government. This will be evident from what is stated below.

It was on June 25, 1764, that at a Secret Consultation held at Fort William the Council resolved (81) that it should be established as a standing rule “to be observed at the Subordinate Factories and the Army” that “no servant of the Company, Civil or military or any other person whatever residing” under its protection should be “permitted to correspond with the nabob or the officers of his Government or to pay them visits in person without leave granted them by the Chief of the Factory or the Commander in Chief of the Army, who shall alone in the several Departments manage all transactions with the Government according to our former Orders.”

The Council also agreed to “write (82) accordingly to the Subordinates, the Commander in Chief of the Army and the Resident at the Durbar.”

And we also find the Select Committee at Fort William writing to Mr. Francis Sykes, Resident at the Durbar and Chief of the Cossimbazar Factory, on 22nd November, 1765:—

“Sir,

We have already issued the most positive orders to all the Company’s Servants, civil as well as military, to hold no intercourse or correspondence with any of the public officers, and therefore desire you will immediately

(80) See the Company’s General Letter to Bengal, dated 25th March, 1772 (received here on 12th October, 1772), para. 115.

(81) See the Secret Department Consultation, Fort William, Monday, 25th June, 1764.

(82) *Ibid.*

inform us of the least complaint from the Ministers upon that head, that we may take effectual measures to enforce obedience" (83).

#### COMPANY'S SERVANTS AND THE FARMING OF LANDS.

The policy of the Company in regard to the question of allowing its servants to hold lands on their own account, either within or without its jurisdiction, had varied from time to time ; ultimately, however, this privilege was denied to them as it was found that their enjoyment of it had not only resulted in the diminution of revenues accruing to the Company, but also led to many abuses on their part in some places (84). This will be clear from what follows :

In its General Letter (85) to Bengal, dated 23rd March, 1759, the Court of Directors wrote to the President and Council : "You did very right in forbidding Europeans holding the Farms of any Lands, Towns, or Villages without the Company's boundaries nor do we much approve of it within our own jurisdiction however as it sometimes may possibly prove of Public Advantage to have monied men not in our service to be competitors, we do not lay you under restrictions (as) to such Persons but *we absolutely & positively forbid (our) Covenant Servants holding any Lands, Towns, or Villages directly or indirectly either within or without our Jurisdiction or be interested in any Contracts with the Company for such shall assuredly forfeit our service* our reason for this restraint must be so obvious that an Explanation must be unnecessary."

Before, however, this letter reached Bengal, some of the servants of the Company had taken lease of "a part of the lands" of Calcutta and the Twenty-Four Parganas when the Company's lands in Calcutta and the Twenty-Four Parganas had been let for three years by public auction by relevant authorities (86). This had been possible because the Court had not previously imposed any restrictions upon the servants of the Company in regard to the taking of leases of lands by them.

By its General Letter to Bengal of 13th March, 1761, however, the Court removed (87) the restrictions it had imposed upon its servants in the

(83) We may also note here that in its letter (para. 9), dated at Calcutta 31st January, 1766, the Select Committee informed the Court of Directors of the restriction it had imposed upon the servants of the Company in the matter of correspondence with the officers of the Nabob's Government.—See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Calcutta 31st January, 1766.

(84) Even servants who "were themselves entrusted with the management of..... revenues, and with the letting of.....leases" took leases of lands.—See *Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy, House of Commons, 1773*.

(85) See para. 50 thereof; also see *Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy, House of Commons, 1773, Appendix 66*.

(86) "*Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy*", House of Commons, 1773.

(87) See para. 57 thereof; also see "*Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy, House of Commons, 1773, Appendix 67*."



matter of the farming of lands by them, by its General Letter of 23rd March, 1759. It wrote therein to the Governor and Council at Fort William: "We . . . . . revoke all restrictions & if you are perfectly satisfied that no inconvenience can arise from our servants farming any part (of the Company's territories), we shall not object to it: but then assign your reasons for our observation." And we find in a Report (88) of a Parliamentary Committee that "farms were afterwards held by the Company's servants, both in the Calcutta Purgannahs (89), and in the districts (90) ceded by Cossim Aly Khan." But the Court changed its policy in 1766 as it had been reported to it that the privilege it had granted to the Company's servants in the matter of farming lands, had been grossly abused by many of them. In its letter to the President and Select Committee at Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, the Court stated (91):—

"We have on a former occasion in Our Letter of the 13th March 1761 Paragraph 57 permitted Our Servants to bid at the Public sale of the Calcutta Lands but we could not conceive such an indulgence could ever be construed to admit servants employed in the Collection of the Revenues of a Province to select out the most profitable Lands for themselves for such is the light in which this Transaction appears to us, and it is one more striking proof of the general corruption with which all ranks were tainted and of the ill use that has been made of every indulgence—we direct a strict scrutiny into this affair; and if it proves true that you will make a proper example of the offenders by dismissing them our service."

"This Transaction", the Court continued (92), "convinces us of the necessity of shutting the door to abuses and we therefore positively order that no covenanted servant or Englishman residing under our protection shall be suffered to hold any Land for his own account directly or indirectly in his own name or that of others or to be concerned in any farms or Revenues whatever."

We also find in the proceedings of the meeting of the Select Committee held at Fort William on 5th October, 1765, that in consequence of a representation (93) made by Mahomed Reza Cawn, the Committee had prohibited the servants of the Company acting under the Chiefs of subordinate factories and Commanding Officers of Brigades, from holding lands on pain of suspension from the Company's service, and had enjoined both "the Chiefs and several Agents at the subordinate settlements to confine themselves strictly to the Business of the Company's Trade and their

(88) *"Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy,"* House of Commons, 1773.

(89) I.e. Calcutta and the Twenty-Four Parganas.

(90) Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong.

(91) In para. 18.

(92) See the Court's letter to the President and Select Committee, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 19.

(93) One of the requests which Mahomed Reza Cawn had made in his letter, was that none of the dependants of the English factories at Jahangeer Nuggur, Luckypoor, etc., should be allowed to hold any farms.

own." (94) This action on the part of the Select Committee had not been incompatible with the decision of the Court of Directors on the question of the holding of lands by its servants, as embodied in its General Letter of 13th March, 1761, to the Governor and Council of Fort William.

#### RESTRICTION, A SALUTARY PRINCIPLE.

Regard being had to its position in Bengal in the sixties of the 18th Century, it is perhaps not necessary to point out here that the restriction imposed by the Company upon its servants in the matter of their holding any lands either from itself or otherwise, embodied a very wholesome principle of administration. It not only helped to free the administration of the Company in Bengal from many corrupting influences, and to increase its revenue, but also tended to remove an important source of oppression of the peasantry of the province. After its victories at Plassey and Buxar, and specially after its acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Company became in fact, as we have seen before, the supreme authority in these provinces. As members of the virtually ruling race, its servants would be, if allowed to hold lands on their own account, often tempted in their natural arrogance to abuse their privileged position to the oppression of the people. And the latter would ordinarily have to submit to it helplessly. Such an abuse of their privileged position took place, as we shall shortly see, in connexion with their participation in the 'inland trade of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa,' and, as a consequence, the people of this country terribly suffered.

#### HOURS OF WORK OF A JUNIOR SERVANT.

It may be interesting to note here that the Court of Directors issued instructions even in regard to such a minor matter as the number of hours for which a junior civil servant should be required to be in his office or station every day. The occasion for this instruction was a reply to a letter to itself, dated 7th December, 1754, in which the Governor and Council at Fort William had written that they would take care that all their junior servants were kept strictly employed, "for which end" they "had ordered the heads of the several offices to insist on their attending their Business from Nine to Twelve in the Forenoon and in the afternoon and Evening when occasion

(94) Moreover, we find that at a Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 17th October, 1764, the President and Council re-affirmed the following resolution adopted at the Consultation (Public, Fort William) of 5th March, 1763 :—

"That none of our servants, or Dependents, or Persons residing under our Protection shall be permitted to hold any Lands, Gunges, Rents, or Employment of any kind from the Country Government.

"That such however as have inherited Talooks from purchase or other good rights shall not be obliged to give them up, but hold them as other Talookdars in the country being informed once for all that in respect to such Rents held from the Government they are not to avail themselves of Our Protection to invest them with any particular privileges."

requires" (95). The Court stated (96) in reference to this: "This Regulation to enjoin an attendance (short as it is) implies how remiss our Junior servants had been in this particular, and indeed the copying part of almost every Book and Paper received for sometime past, strongly evince us of the Truth of it, they are done in such a Hurry, that in general they are unfit to be seen, and many are scarcely legible. It will be as well for the advantage of the Young People themselves as the Company, they be kept Regularly, Constantly and strictly to Business, which We therefore most earnestly recommend, and positively (*sic*) enjoin to your care and attention to Effect, and if any of our Junior Servants Neglect or Refuse to do the business allotted them, you are without regard to Persons to suspend them from our service, and not restore them without a satisfactory amendment. And We insist upon it, that all the Junior servants do give their attendance in their respective Public offices or Stations Six Hours in a day at least; and as much longer as shall be necessary" (97).

#### CIVIL SERVANTS AND THE INLAND TRADE OF BENGAL.

As we have seen before, a civil servant of the Company could, under the terms of his Covenant, freely "trade and traffic, for his own Account only", subject to a few restrictions. And we have also seen how absurdly small was the salary which a writer used to receive from the Company. Further, we find in a speech of Lord Clive (98) delivered in the House of Commons on March 30th, 1772, that the salary of a Councillor was scarcely three hundred pounds per annum. "And it is well known", he further said, "that he cannot live in that country for less than three thousand pounds. The same proportion holds among the other servants." Such "absurdly small salaries" (99), together with their right to trade on their own account, led to many grave abuses and acts of oppression on the part of the Company's servants, particularly from after the Company's victory at the battle of Plassey (100). As Gleig has rightly observed in his *Memoirs of Warren*

(95) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 11th February, 1756, para. 91.

(96) *Ibid.*

(97) The Court added: "We very well know that Indulging Writers with Pallankeens has not a little contributed to the Neglect of Business We complain of, by affording them opportunities of Rambling when they ought to be otherwise employed, as well as putting the greater part to an expence they are not in circumstances to support, and therefore since you have in a considerable Degree dispensed with our Orders on this Head, we shall expect it from you that this Indulgence be so strictly attended to that we may have no reason to complain of the abuse of it."—*Ibid.*

(98) His actual words were:—"The salary of a Counsellor is, I think, scarcely three hundred pounds per annum."

(99) See Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India*, 1917, p. 36.

(100) As Vansittart has said (*A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal from the year 1760 to the year 1764*, Vol. I, 1766, pp. 24-25), with reference to the trading facilities of the Company and its servants in Bengal after the Battle of Plassey:

"With respect to trade, no new privileges were asked of Meer Jaffier; none indeed were wanted by the Company, who were contented with the terms granted them in 1716 (1717?), and only wished to be relieved from the impositions to which they had been exposed from

*Hastings* (101), "When a new order of things arose (after 1757), and the English, by the setting up of Meer Jaffer, had become all powerful, abuses crept in which it was found difficult to counteract. The Company's servants, who then enjoyed the privilege of private trade, and looked rather to the profits arising from it than to their salaries for the means of acquiring a competency, not only covered their private speculations by passports drawn out in the Company's name, but permitted their servants and dependents to claim exemption from internal duties on the same plea, and entered largely into the internal trade of the country. Now all this was in gross and unjustifiable violation of existing treaties. There was no sanction for it at all" (102).

The abuses referred to above occurred both in connexion with the use of the privilege of what was known as the *Dustuck* (103), by the Company's servants or their agents, and their efforts virtually to monopolize the entire inland trade of Bengal. This will be evident from what follows.

We shall first deal with the question of the abuse of the privilege of the *Dustuck* by the Company's servants or their agents.

Under the terms of the *Farman* (104) granted to the East India Company in 1717 by the Mughal Emperor, Furrukhsheer, the Company could carry on their trade in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa duty-free, on payment of a *Peshcush* (105) of, so far as these provinces were concerned, Rs. 3,000/- annually (106). And "by the connivance of the Bengal Government and constant usage" the Company's covenanted servants enjoyed "the same benefit

the arbitrary power of the Nabob. *However, our influence over the country was no sooner felt, than many innovations were practised by some of the Company's servants, or the people employed under their authority. They began to trade in the articles which were before prohibited, and to interfere in the affairs of the country; of which the Nabob complained very frequently to the English resident at his Court, and the governor of Calcutta, insisting particularly, that no one should be permitted to trade in salt and beetle-nut.*" The italics are ours.

(101) See Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, 1841, p. 98.

(103) *Dustuck* (or *Dustick*): A passport or permit or order. It usually meant the passport issued by the Governor at Fort William or the Chiefs of English factories, for the goods of the Company or of their servants, which exempted them from the payment of duties (see Verelst, *A view of the English Government in Bengal*, Glossary).

"The *Dustuk* passes the goods by the different Custom Houses which are called *Chokies*."—From Mr. Thomas Rumbold's answer to a question put to him by a Parliamentary Committee (see the Commons' Report, Second, 26th May, 1772).

"In the English Company's affairs it (*Dustuck*) generally means the permit under their broad-seal, which exempts goods from the payment of duties."—Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, Glossary.

(104) '*Farman*' was the technical term for a grant made by the Emperor himself.

(105) "A tribute paid to the Crown, as an acknowledgment for any tenure."

(106) This is clear from the following extracts from the relevant *Farman* and *Husbull-hookum* :—

"I now direct and command, that whatever Goods or other Things the Company's Gomastahs may (throughout my Dominions) either bring or carry away, by Land or by water, have free Egress and Regress, exempt from any Duties; and in the same Manner they may buy or sell at their own Liberty; in which Consideration, the Three thousand Rupees is to be annually paid a *Pishcash* and no more."—From the *Farman* granted by the Emperor, Furrukseer in 1717 ("27th of Mohurrun 5 Son of year of his Reign").

as the Company with respect to their Export and Import Trade" (107). The privilege of trading duty-free, however, had been intended by the Mughal Emperor to be enjoyed by the Company in connexion with its import and export trade only. But its servants who had been allowed this privilege more or less as a matter of grace, not only claimed that they should be allowed to trade in all (108) commodities duty-free, but they also acted in accordance

Also :—

"It is accordingly ordered, and they have obtained a gracious Phirmaun; for which Reason this Husbullhookum is issued out; that you ("all Mutsuddys in Government") do know, pursuant to the great command, this Nation (i.e., the English) is free from all custom, and that you let them go on in their mercantile Affairs without Molestation, and receive a Pishcash of Rs. 3000 annually at Hugly, in lieu of Custom. Regard this well.—written the 9th of the Moon Zeelhedge, the 5th Year of his Majesty's Reign.—From a copy of a Husbullhookum under the seal of the Cootbullmoolk, Prime Minister, etc.

See the Commons Report, First, 26th May, 1772.

It is clear from the above extracts that the English East India Company had to pay only Rs. 3000/- per annum for enjoying the privilege of trading duty-free in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and not Rs. 10,000/- as Mr. William Bolts has stated (*Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, p. 61). The Company was required to pay Rs. 10,000/- as Pishcash for enjoying the privilege of trading custom free at the port of Surat.

See the Commons Report, First, 26th May, 1772.

(107) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 8th February, 1764, para. 22.

We also find in Bolt's *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, pp. 63-64, "By constant usage, and the connivance of the Indian government, these Dustucks were always looked upon as, of right, belonging to the covenanted servants of the Company also, for the carrying on of their own private trade."

Also in Verelst (*A view of the English Government in Bengal*, 1772, p. 105):—

"This privilege (of Phirmaunds), while the English were wholly subordinate to the country government in Bengal, was confined to exports and imports, and under this limitation, enjoyed rather from connivance than of right, by the private traders in the company's service."

The fact is: What had originally been a matter of grace and connivance, came to be claimed in course of time as a matter of right, by the covenanted servants of the Company.

(108) E.g. the majority of the Council at Fort William had declared that they (i.e., the English) would "Trade in all Articles Custom free, as well from Place to Place, in the Country in Commodities produced in the Country, as in Foreign Imports & Commodities for Exportations."—See the President's and Warren Hastings' opinion in the Proceedings of the meeting of the Council held at Fort William on Thursday, 24th March, 1763; also Vansittart, *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal, from the Year 1760 to the Year 1764*, etc., Vol. III, 1766, p. 73; also see Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India*, 1917, p. 73.

The view held by Vansittart (President and Governor) and Hastings on this question was very fair. In a joint letter dated at Monghyr 15th December, 1762, they wrote to "Peter Amyatt, Esquire, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the Council of Fort William":

"We have had many Conferences with the Nabob (Meer Cossim), on the subject of the late complaints, which appear to have been chiefly occasioned by the private Inland Trade, or the Trade from Place to Place, in the Country. He enlarged much on the Licentiousness and oppressions exercised by our Gomasthas..... We agree with the Nabob in Opinion, that the true Intent and natural Meaning of the Firmaun granted to the Company, was to give to them and their servants a free Trade, clear of all Customs, in all Articles of Commerce to be imported or exported by shipping: From such Commerce a mutual Benefit is derived to our Country and to this; but the Trade from Place to Place in the Country, in Salt, Beetle Nut, Tobacco, and other commodities produced here, bringing no general Benefit to the Country, but to Particulars only, who had the same

with their claim. Moreover, forged (109) dustucks were often used with a view to enjoying the privilege of trading duty-free. And many persons not in the service of the Company, also managed often to enjoy this privilege, apparently through some collusive arrangements with some servants of the Company (110). As every student of Indian History knows, one of the main causes of the conflict with Meer Cossim was this "shameful Abuse of Dusticks" (111) in various ways, by many servants of the Company.

In his letter (112) to the Governor written from a place "One coss beyond Baggulpoor", Hastings wrote to Mr. Vansittart, Governor, on 25th April, 1762 :—

"Sir, — I beg leave to lay before you a grievance which calls loudly for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render eneffectual any endeavours to create a firm or lasting harmony between the Nabob and the Company ; I mean the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through the want of spirit in the Nabob's subjects to oppose them. This evil, I am well assured, is not *confined to our dependants alone* (113), but is practised all over the country by people falsely assuming

in their Hands, we do not think the Firmaun can be understood to include them within the Privilege of the Dustuck, or to grant us a Right to trade therein, on any other Footing than the Natives themselves; that is, paying the usual customs to the Government; for if we had a Right therein to trade Custom free, and the Natives must pay, it follows, no one but ourselves could carry on any Trade, which we cannot suppose the Firmaun intended.

"It is Fact that the Nabobs of these Provinces did formerly restrain the Europeans from carrying on this Trade upon any Footing, and by farming out the several Articles to particular Merchants, draw to themselves a considerable Revenue.

"After the Defeat and Death of Seraja Dowla, and the Establishment of Jaffar Aly Cawn in the Subahship, by the assistance of the English, we began to take a share of this Trade which share has been from Day to Day increasing. It has, however, always been a subject of Dispute with the Country Government, our Right never having been admitted by them, nor regularly claimed and established by us; and the Government's Duties have generally been paid.

"But not content with this, the English Gomastahs, in different Parts, have lately begun to insist upon this Trade as a Firmaun Privilege, equally with the Foreign Trade, and refused to pay any Customs: The Government's People, on their Part, demanded the Customs, and, upon the Refusal, stopped the Goods; and this contest has been the occasion of many of the complaints received by us and by the Nabob. . . . .

'We think it would be unreasonable to desire to carry on the Inland Trade upon any other Footing than that of the Merchants of the Country; and that the attempting to carry it on free of Customs, and with the Company's Dustuck, would bring upon us an universal jealousy and ill will, and in the End prejudice the Company's Affairs as well as our own.'— Vide the Commons Report, Third, 8th April, 1773, Appendix 32.

(109) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 20th December, 1765; also Proceedings, Select Committee, 19th February, 1766.

(110) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 3rd March, 1758, paras, 147-48.

(111) This expression occurs in the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 30th December, 1763, para. 81.

(112) This letter has been fully quoted by Gleig in his "*Memoirs of Warren Hastings*", Vol. 1, 1841, pp. 107-110; also see Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India*, 1756-1858, 1917, pp. 69-71.

the habits of our sepoys, or calling themselves our gomastahs . . . . . I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed ; and on the river I do not believe that I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed (for I could only trust to the information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions), I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, to the quiet of the country, or the honour of our nation ; but evidently tend to lesson each of them . . . . ."

In his letter (114) to the Court of Directors, dated at Calcutta 30th September, 1765, Clive also observed that the "Sources of Tyranny and oppression" which had been opened by the European Agents acting under the authority of the Company's Servants, "and the numberless Black Agents and Sub-Agents acting also under them", would, he feared, be "a lasting Reproach to the English Name in this Country." "It is impossible", he continued, "to enumerate the complaints that have been laid before me by the unfortunate Inhabitants, who had not forgot that I was an Enemy to Oppression. The Necessity of securing the confidence of the Natives, is an Idea I have ever maintained, and was in hopes would be invariably adopted by others ; but Ambition, Success, and Luxury, have, I find, introduced a new system of Politics, at the severe exepense of English Honour, of the Company's Faith, and even of common Justice and Humanity. The Orders, so frequently issued, That no Writers shall have the privilege of Dustucks, I have strictly obeyed ; but I am sorry to inform you, that all the wished-for Consequences are not to be expected ; the Officers of the Government are so sensible of our Influence and Authority, that *they dare not presume to search* (115) or stop a Boat, protected by the Name of a Company's servant ; and you may be assured that Frauds of that Kind, so easy to be practised, and so difficult to be detected, are but too frequent."

The Court of Directors, it must be said here to its credit, made honest and sincere attempts to stop this abuse of the privilege of the Dustuck on the part of its servants, although it should also be noted with regret that its attempts were not always very successful owing to the cupidity of many of those servants. For example, in its General Letter to Bengal, dated 3rd March, 1758, the Court stated: "Dustucks have been scandalously Prostituted to the great prejudice of our Revenue, equally iniquitous and detrimental to the Nabob, many just Regulations have at times been ordered but never Executed, so cheap has our authority been held, however as we are determined never in future to pardon disobedience, we shall once more attempt to lay down such Rules, as will prevent abuses and preserve an harmony with the Mogul Government."

The Court, therefore, ordered (116): "That the Custom Master do in future keep the Register of Dusticks and no Dustick be allowed but on oath

(113) The italics are ours.

(114) Para. 12.

(115) The italics are ours.

made by the party demanding the same that the goods or merchandize specified be and are on his own proper account & that he does not directly or indirectly therein cover the Property of any of the natives of Bengal, Free merchants or any others, excepting our Investment Contractors bringing down our Goods (but not their own) and our Covenanted Servants that the King or Moors Government be not defrauded of their just Duties and Revenues, that the said oath be tendered by our Custom Master, who shall attest the same at One Corner of the Dustick before it is presented to the President for his signing and sealing . . . . . A Declaration must be drawn up from your repeated standing orders against the abuse of Dusticks and let the same be published in the different Languages by the usual method of affixing at the Fort Gate, thereby to evince the Government that such abuse were not only contrary to our knowledge but to our repeated injunctions and orders on that head" (117).

Again, in its General Letter to Bengal, dated 17th December, 1762, the Court remarked: "We are well assured, that one great reason of Writers neglecting the Company's Business is engaging too soon in Trade, this by the assistance of their Banians either furnishes them with the means for supporting extravagant Expenses or lays an early foundation for distressed circumstances and improper Influences. The certain consequences of both which are and must be an inattention to and neglect of the Company's Business, We therefore positively order that none of the Writers have the benefit or liberty of Dusticks until the times of their respective Writer-ships are expired and commence Factors, with this exception however, That as some of them are older than usual in such a station to such you may grant the said liberty or benefit of Dusticks, but herein you are to take notice it is our meaning such liberty to extend only to the writers who have fully attained or when they shall attain to the age of 21 years & not before, and provided they discharge their Duty during their continuance in the station of Writers to your satisfaction."

A little over a year later, the Court again wrote (118) to the President and Council at Fort William on 30th December, 1763, that although it had not received any letter from them since the one bearing the date, 14th February, 1763, in which they had given "some general Account of very disagreeable Altercations with the Nabob (of Moorshedabad)", it had received "Private Advices" to the effect "that the Nabob having made repeated complaints of the notorious Abuse of Dusticks by which he lost great part of his Customs, and having obtained no Redress he at once overset the Company's Servants by declaring all Goods Custom free so that now their Dusticks are of no use." Unwilling as it was "to place too much Confidence in private Informations", these were too important to pass unnoticed. If the information received by it through private sources were correct, it was natural, it said,

(116) See the Court's General Letter to Bengal, dated 3rd March, 1758, para. 148.

(117) Para. 37.

(118) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 30th December, 1763, para. 81.



to think "that the Nabob tired out disgusted with the Ill Usage he has received has taken extraordinary Measure, finding that his Authority and Government are set at naught and trampled upon by unprecedented Behaviour of our servants & the Agents employed by them in the several Parts of the Nabob's Dominions." "If We are right in Our Conjecture," the Court continued, "We positively direct as you value your service that you immediately acquaint the Nabob in the Company's name that We *disapprove of every measure which has been taken in real prejudice to his Authority and Government particularly with respect to the wronging him in his Revenues by shameful Abuse of Dusticks*, and you are further to inform him that We look upon his and the Company's Interest to be so connected that We wish for nothing more than to have everything put on such a footing that the utmost harmony may be promoted & kept up between us."

"In order to promote this Harmony," it concluded (119), "you are most heartily & seriously to take under your Consideration every real Grievance the Nabob lays under, to redress them to the utmost of your Power & prevent such Abuses in future, & with respect to the Article of Dusticks in particular, you are hereby *positively directed to confine this Privilege as nearly as possible to the Terms granted in the Phirmaunds* (120), & you are to give the Nabob all the assistance you can to reinstate him in the full power of collecting and receiving his Revenues which as Subah he is justly entitled to."

Unfortunately, the information which the Court had received from private sources was correct. The abuse of the privilege of the Dustuck had continued although it had directed it to be stopped. And in spite of all endeavours on the part of Vansittart and Hastings to bring about a reconciliation between the Nawab and the Company, the majority of the Council at Fort William had determined, as noted before, that the English would "Trade (121) in all

(119) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 30th December, 1763, para. 81.

(120) The italics are ours.

(121) See the President's and Warren Hastings's opinion in the Proceedings of the meeting of the Council held at Fort William on Thursday, 24th March, 1763; also see Vansittart, *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal, from the Year 1760, to the Year 1764, etc.*, 1766, Vol. III, pp. 73. It may further be noted here that in his letter to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors dated at Fort William 24th December, 1763, Mr. Vansittart wrote that he apprehended that no remedy against the frequent causes of complaint in connection with the question of the inland trade would be found effectual, "but the restraining the private trade" on the part of the Company's servants "in the manner mentioned" in his letter to the Court, of 8th October, 1763. And he had written in this letter: "If we will not be satisfied with less than shutting the country people out of every kind of trade and depriving the Government of their duty upon ourselves the universal odium of the inhabitants and the secret ill will of the Government I therefore think that one necessary regulation of your Honours to make will be that the Inland Trade, that is the Trade from place to place in the country in articles produced in the country shall not be carried on with the Company's Dustuck, but with that of the Country Government paying a duty as nearly as possible equivalent to what the Country merchants pay, and which I think will be found to be at least 9 p. cent."

Thus Vansittart's attitude towards the question of the private trade by the Company's servants was very fair.

Articles Custom free, as well from Place to Place, in the Country in Commodities produced in the Country, as in Foreign Imports & Commodities for Exportations." Thus the conduct of the Company's servants in the matter of the use of the privilege of the Dustuck had in a sense been endorsed by the Council. The result had been, as Gleig has said (122), that the Nawab had, "in a paroxysm of fury, abolished (123) all the transit duties throughout his dominions" "for the space of two years", and thus thrown "open the inland trade to merchants of all nations." The Council at Calcutta by a majority resolved that it should be insisted that the Nabob must revoke this order (124). The ultimate consequence of all this was, as is well-known, war with Meer Cossim.

The Court of Directors continued, however, issuing its directions for the stopping of the misuse of the privilege of the Dustuck by the Company's servants. In its General Letter (125) to Bengal, dated 8th February (126), 1764, the Court wrote to the President and Council at Fort William: "Our Phirmaund Privileges of being Duty free, are certainly confined to the Company's Export and Import Trade only, you are to have recourse to and keep within the Liberty therein stipulated and given as nearly as can possibly be done, but as by the connivance of the Bengal Government and constant usage the Companys Vovenant servants have had the same benefit as the Company with respect to their Export & Import Trade, we are willing they should enjoy the same and that Dusticks be granted accordingly, but herein the most effectual care is to be taken that no Excesses or abuses are suffer'd upon any account whatsoever, nor Dusticks granted to any others than our Covenant servants as aforesaid, however notwithstanding any of our former Orders no Writer is to have the benefit of a Dustick until he has served out his full time of five years in that station. Free Merchants and others are not entitled to, or to have the benefit of the Company's Dusticks but are to pay the usual Duties."

Further, when the Court received a copy of the new treaty into which the Company had entered (127) with Meer Jaffier Ally Khan on the reinstatement of the latter (128) as the Nawab of Bengal, the Court observed in its General Letter (129) to Bengal, dated 1st June, 1764, that it had noticed that

(122) See Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I, p. 122.

(123) The relevant *sunnuds* were dated 5th March, 1763.—See Consultation, Fort William, 22nd March, 1763.

(124) See Consultation, Fort William, 24th March, 1763; also See Vansittart, *A Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal, etc., 1766*, Vol. III, p. 76; also Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India*, 1917, p. 74.

(125) Para. 22.

(126) The last letter which the Court had so far received from Bengal had been dated 14th February, 1763.—See the Company's General Letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated 8th February, 1764.

(127) On 10th July, 1763.

(128) He had been actually proclaimed Nawab for the second time on Friday, 8th July, 1763.

(129) Para. 55.

it had been agreed (130) that the English would "carry on their Trade by means of their own Dustick free from all Duties, Taxes and Impositions in all parts of the Country excepting the Article of Salt on which a Duty of Two and a half per cent is to be levied on the Rowanna or Hughly Market Price", and that "the late Perwannahs issued by Cossim Aly Cawn, granting to all Merchants the Exemption of all Dutys for the space of Two years shall be reversed and called in and the Dutys collected as before."

"These are Terms," the Court continued (131), "which appear to be so very Injurious to the Nabob and to the Natives, That they cannot in the very nature of them tend to anything but the producing the general Heart Burnings & Dissatisfaction and consequently there can be little reason to expect the Tranquillity of the Country can be permanent."

The misuse of the Dustuck however did not cease and the Court again wrote (132) on 11th November, 1768, that it had noticed in the Register of Dustucks the names of many persons who were not in the service of the Company (133). This required, it said (134), an explanation for it did not "mean to vest" in its servants abroad "a Power to confer such Privileges on any Person whatever not entitled thereto by being a covenanted servant." And previously to this letter, the Court had written (135) to Lord Clive on 4th March, 1767, that it had stated in its letter (136) to the Select Committee that it still deemed the "Firmaun of Furruckseer the boundary of our Commercial Privileges." "We have never

(130) The relevant clauses of the Treaty of 10th July, 1763, referred to in the text above, ran as follows:—"I (i.e., the Nawab) do ratify and confirm to the English the privilege granted them by their Firmaun and several Husbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by means of their own Dustuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impositions, in all parts of the country, except the article of Salt, on which a duty of 2½ per cent is to be levied on the Rowana or Hooghly market price"; and "The late Perwannahs issued by Cossim Ally Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before."—See clauses 3 and 8 of the Treaty of 10th July, 1763, with Meer Jaffier.

(131) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 1st June, 1764, para. 56.

(132) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 11th November, 1768, para. 90.

(133) It is strange that such things happened although on 19th February, 1766, the Select Committee at Fort William had passed the following resolutions:—

"The Committee with a view to prevent the frequent abuses arising from forged and counterfeit dusticks having given directions for engraving a new dustuck seal.

Resolved that after the first day of July next all the old dusticks be repealed.

The Dusticks shall in future be granted under the new seal by the president and the Chiefs of Dacca—Patna—Cossimbazar and Chittagong only."—Vide Proceeding, Select Committee, Fort William, 19th February, 1766.

(134) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 11th November, 1768, para. 90.

(135) See the Court's Letter to Lord Clive, dated 4th March, 1767, para. 5.

(136) Reference is to the following paragraph in the Court's letter to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated at London 4th March, 1767:—

Para 15. "Our servants seem to Entertain the idea that our successes and our influence in the Country have for object the increase and protection of their Trade, this idea must be eradicated and they must be taught that the Phirmaund obtained from Furruckseer is still the boundary of our commercial privileges . . . . We must . . . . add that you transmit us yearly a copy of the Register of the Dustucks granted from the Presidency & from all the subordinates."

countenanced any other pretensions. The young servants growing up under . . . . . bad examples leave us reason to believe that nothing but your Lordship's strong injunctions can restrain them from a point in which their profit runs so counter to their duty" (137). Further, in its General Letter to Bengal, dated 24th March, 1767 (138), the Court warned that too great care could not be taken to prevent the abuse of the Dustucks with which its servants had been indulged. It, therefore, viewed it with pleasure that the Governor and Council at Fort William had given their attention "to this very material affair by taking all the means" in their power "punctually to adhere to such measures as may prevent such disputes in future with the Country Government, as have been heretofore with great justice complained of."

Abuses, however, still continued, and the Court of Directors had once more to write (139)—

"In the 90th Paragraph of our advices of the 11th November last we expressed our displeasure at the irregularity committed in the granting Dustucks to Free Merchants and others—upon a further examination into the Register of Dustucks we perceive the abuses committed herein are got to that (*sic*) height, that it is become necessary to revoke all particular Indulgencies formerly granted; and we do strictly forbid our President ever to grant a Dustuck for any goods or merchandize to or from the Inland Places to any but the Company's Covenanted servants above the Rank of Writers, and such of the Writers who have attained the age of 21 years."

It is clear from the foregoing extracts from the Court's letters to Bengal how it made honest efforts to prevent the misuse of the Farman which the Mughal Emperor, Farruckhseer, had granted to the East India Company in 1717. It should also be noted here that in October, 1764, the Council at Fort William also had taken some steps for the prevention of the misuse of the Farman by the Company's Servants or their agents. On a representation (140) made by the Nawab of Moorshedabad, the Council had resolved at a Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 17th October, 1764, that the Nabob's officers should be "permitted to stop all boats with goods not having the Company's Distuck and levy on them the established Duties, notwithstanding any English Colors or peons they may have had granted them or assumed to themselves for Protection;" that "boats passing with goods having the Company's Dustick shall shew the Dustick to the Officer (s ?) of every Chokey who may demand a sight of it, and in case of a refusal to shew the Dustick the officer shall have liberty to stop the Boats until it is either shewn, or the Duties paid;"

(137) See the Court's letter to Lord Clive, dated 4th March, 1767, para 5.

(138) Para. 45.

(139) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 17th March, 1769, para. 118.

(140) Article 2 of the Nawab's requests:

"The state of the Budraca of Patna and the Putchootra of Moorshedabad (Cutcheries into which the Governments Duties are paid) is this: that merchants refuse to pay the customary duties under cover of the Protection of the English Factories. Be pleased to send positive orders that they should pay the customary dues into the aforesaid cutchery and that no protection should be granted to any one."—See Proceedings, Council, Fort William, Secret Department, Monday, 17th October, 1764.

that the officer or any person "authorized on his part to demand a sight of the Dustick shall not detain the Boats a moment if it is produced ;" that "the Dusticks which are thus to circulate Goods are to be signed by the Governor of Calcutta or the Chief of one of the Subordinate Factories, and sealed with their seal ;" that it "shall therefore be recommended to the Nabob to place an officer at each Chowkey who shall be capable not only of distinguishing such Dustick, but of certifying its having passed that it may not be liable to pass a second time ;" that a list "of the established Chowkeys and the duties leviable at them be asked of the Nabob for the sake of Information ;" that "whenever Goods exported from Calcutta shall arrive at the Place of their consignment specified in the Dustick the Custom House Poems who accompanied them shall be strictly enjoined to return immediately from thence with the Dustick ;" and that "the same method must be observed at the subordinate Factories when Dusticks are granted from thence."

Closely connected with the question of the misuse or abuse of the privilege of the Dustuck by the Company's servants or their agents, was the question of their actual participation in the inland trade of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. They not only claimed, and did actually enjoy, virtual exemption from internal duties, which easily enabled them to undersell the Indian merchants in their own country, they also directly or indirectly traded in all kinds of commodities to the great loss and suffering of the people of these provinces. The political influence of the English from after their victory at Plassey considerably helped this. Clive himself admitted once (141) that the Company's servants had "traded not only as merchants, but as sovereigns, and by grasping at the whole of the inland trade" had "taken the bread out of the mouths of thousands and thousands of merchants, who used formerly to carry on that trade, and who are now reduced to beggary."

We have seen before that the Company allowed to its servants the privilege of private trade. This "indulgence," however, was intended to be confined, under the Farman from Furruckseer, to "articles (142) of export and Import" only. As a matter of fact, however, these servants gradually so extended their trade, as a result of

(141) See Clive's speech in the House of Commons, on March 30th, 1772.—*The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the year 1803*, Vol. XVII, 1771-74 (Hansard, 1813).

(142) I.e., articles imported into, or to be exported from, this country. This is evident from the following extract from the Court's letter to the Select Committee, dated at London 4th March, 1767 :—

"Our servants seem to Entertain the idea that Our Successes and our influence in the Country have for object the increase and protection of their Trade, this idea must be eradicated and they must be taught that the Phirmaund obtained from Furruckseer is still the boundary of our Commercial privileges—The indulgence to our servants of trade under that Firmaund must be confined to articles of export and Import, as expressed in the 16th Para of our Letter of the 24th December 1765 to which we expect the most implicit obedience."

The relevant direction in the 16th paragraph of the Court's (separate) letter to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765, was :—"No Dustucks shall be given but for Articles of Import and Export, as was formerly practiced."

the political influence acquired by the Company in Bengal after 1757 (143), as to include within its range almost all articles, not excluding even the necessities of life of the people here. Moreover, with a view to making this trade as profitable as possible, they had recourse, directly or indirectly, even to oppressive acts. One or two illustrations would perhaps indicate the extensive nature of the trade carried on by the Company's servants in these provinces.

In a letter (144), dated at Calcutta 1st February, 1766, Clive wrote to the Court that he would repeat what he had stated in his previous letters to it, namely, that if some means were not "devised to prevent the sudden growth of fortunes" among the "younger servants" of the Company, the Government set up by it in Bengal would soon perish. "If I cannot obtain belief," he continued, "let futurity speak for me—Our influence is so extensive and the ways of acquiring fortunes by Trade only are so various that some bounds must be put to them. The whole trade of Bengal has I find been monopolized by your servants, their agents and Gomastahs: Thousands of the natives are starving for want of those their accustomed profits, which are now diverted, and confined to one particular channel, and the servants so far from making a moderate use of the power, which they enjoy through your influence, make not only the interest of the Inhabitants subservient to their own will but the interest of the Company also—they are even of opinion that the advantage of Trade which I have always considered as an indulgence of yours to them is as much their right as the Company's I learn from very good authority that there are not less than 800 Factories established throughout the Country by your servants, or by their agents, who either carry on the Trade for their masters

In this connexion the following remarks of Clive in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772, are perhaps worthy of note:—

"Many years ago an expensive embassy was sent to Delhi to obtain certain grants and privileges from the Great Mogul, in favour of the East India Company, and amongst others was obtained the privilege of trading duty free. The servants were indulged with this privilege, under the sanction of the Company's name.—The Company never carried on any inland trade. Their commerce has been confined to exports and imports only. It is impossible that the servants should have a more extensive right than the Company itself ever had. Yet they claimed a privilege of carrying on an inland trade, duty free. The absurdity of a privilege so ruinous to the natives, and so prejudicial to the revenues of the country, is obvious."

(143) As Mr. William Sumner said in the course of his evidence before a Parliamentary Committee:—

"The Revolution in 1756 (1757?) extended the views of the Company's servants to Advantages beyond what they had hitherto derived from a Trade confined to Imports and Exports, and from that Period they began to participate in the Benefit of an Inland Commerce; and some even, in those early Days of our Influence, entertained Hopes of a Right, founded upon our Phirmaunds, to an Exemption of Duties upon Salt."—See Mr. Sumner's evidence in the Commons Report, Fourth, dated 21st April, 1773. And we also find in the Report of the said Parliamentary Committee: "Your Committee find, from the Evidence of Mr. Batson, that the English began to trade in salt about the End of the Year 1757, and that it soon became general." See the Commons Report, Fourth, dated 21st April, 1773.

(144) Para. 17.

or for themselves under the sanction of their masters name. Judge now whether this Government continued upon such a plan can long subsist."

We also find in a letter to the Select Committee (145) at Fort William, from Mahomed Reza Cawn that "the Zemindars of the pergunnahs of Radshy Ruccumpoor and other districts in the Soubah of Bengal" had complained that "the factories of English Gentlemen in the Purgunnahs are many and their Gomastahs are in all places and in every village almost throughout the province of Bengal"; that "they trade in linen—chunam, mustard seed, tobacco, Turmeric, oil, rice, hemp, gunnies, wheat etc.—in short in all kinds of grain, linen and whatever other commodities are produced in the country"; that "in order to purchase these articles, they force their money on the Ryots, and having by these oppressive means bought their goods at a low rate, they oblige the inhabitants and shopkeepers to take them at an high price, exceeding what is paid in the market"; that "they do not pay the customs due to the sircar, but are guilty of all manner of seditious and injurious acts"; that "it is by these iniquitous practices that the people of the Country have been ruined and driven to flight and that the revenues of the sircar have been injured"; that "there is now scarce anything of worth left in the country"; and that if justice were not done in these cases, how it would be "possible in future to collect the duties of the government or its revenues." "All the Zemindars," concluded Mahomed Reza Cawn, "make the above complaint and what I have herein written is only an abridgement of the accounts given in at large by them of violence and oppressions. As it is requisite for the prosperity of the country and the well being of its inhabitants as also for the obtaining the full revenues and duties that the poor, etc. have justice done them and that disturbances be put and End to, I have therefore represented these matters to you."

The "Vaqueel of the Zemindary of Boorzoorgomedpore Pergunnah" (Backergunge) sent (146) in a petition to the Council at Fort William "complaining of violent oppressions of the English merchants and agents residing at Backergong Sootabloory and other places in the woods." Among other things he stated in the petition: "By reason of the oppressions of the Factories of the Company and many other English Traders . . . all the Inhabitants are fled. The people of the Factories take from the markets what they please at half price, cut down Bamboos and Trees belonging to the Inhabitants, and take them away by force, if anyone complains, they punish him for it. They press the Inhabitants and Carry them into the woods of soonderbun paying them only half their wages. They take possession of Lands in the soonderbun and make Tafsels (147) of Salt for which they pay no rents, etc. . . ."

The result of all this, together with the effect of the abuse of the privilege of the Dustuck, as shown before, must have been, as Prof. Ramsay Muir has

(145) See the Proceedings of the Select Committee at Fort William, 19th February, 1766.

(146) See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 7th May, 1764.

(147) Perhaps Tehsil or Tahsil, meaning collection.

rightly said (184), "the ruin of all the Indian merchants" (149). Further, taking advantage of the confused state of affairs, the Gomastahs of the Company's servants would often "for their own affairs and concerns send sepoys upon the Ryots . . . . oppress them . . . . (and) force them to purchase their goods" (149a).

It should be said, however, to the credit of the Court of Directors that it made early attempts to put an end to the state of affairs mentioned above. In its General Letter to Bengal, dated 8th February, 1764, it expressed (150) its "great concern" to find that "the conduct and behaviour" of many of its servants had been "inconsistent with their Duty to, & detrimental to the Interest of the Company, in a variety of Instances . . . . particularly with respect to the present (151) Subah of Bengal Cossim Aly Khan with whom it is most evident the strictest friendship and harmony ought to have been cultivated, instead whereof," it said, he and his Government had "met with so much improper and injurious Treatment, and been defrauded in his Revenues by the Licentious Trade" of its servants, and the agents acting under and countenanced by them, to so great a degree, that it dreaded the consequences. "It is high time, therefore," the Court continued, "to remedy these Evils by exerting our authority in removing such Persons, who if continued would (from what we have already observed of their behaviour) throw our Affairs into the utmost confusion, and by appointing such others in their room, from whose good management we shall expect such care and attention to the true Interest

(148) *The Making of British India*, 1917, p. 38.

(149) Commenting on the effect of the participation by the Company's servants in the inland trade of the Country, the Ninth Report (1783) from the Select Committee of the House of Commons has observed:—

"The Company's servants, armed with Authorities delegated from the nominal Government, or attended with what was a stronger Guard, the Fame of their own Power, appeared as Magistrates in the Markets in which they dealt as Traders. It was impossible for the Natives in general to distinguish, in the Proceedings of the same Persons, what was transacted on the Company's Account, from what was done on their own . . . . The servants . . . . for themselves, or for their Employers, monopolized every Article of Trade, Foreign and Domestic; not only the raw Merchantable Commodities, but the Manufactures; and not only these, but the Necessaries of Life, or what, in these Countries, Habit has confounded with them; not only silk, cotton, Piece Goods, Opium, Saltpetre, but not unfrequently Salt, Tobacco, Betel Nut, and the Grain of most ordinary consumption. In the Name of the Country Government they laid on or took off, and at their Pleasure heightened or lowered, all Duties upon Goods: The whole Trade of the Country was either destroyed or in shackles. The Acquisition of the Duanne, in 1765, bringing the English into the Immediate Government of the Country, in its most essential Branches, extended and confirmed all the former Means of Monopoly."

(149a) See the Bengal Secret Consultation, Foreign Department, Fort William, Monday, 2nd January, 1764.

(150) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 8th February, 1764, para. 1.

(151) The Court of Directors had not yet heard of the reinstatement of Meer Jaffer Ali Khan as the Nawab of Bengal "by the deposal of Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan" (*Vide* the Treaty between the Company and the Nawab of Bengal, dated at Fort William, 10th July, 1763). As a matter of fact, the last letter which the Court had received from the President and Council at Fort William, at the time of the writing of its General Letter to Bengal, dated 8th February, 1764, had been dated 14th February, 1763.



of the Company that we may not again be under the necessity of recurring to such a disagreeable measure."

In the course of the same letter the Court also said (152) that one great source "of the Disputes misunderstandings and difficulties" which had occurred with the Country Government, appeared "evidently to have taken its rise from the *unwarrantable and licentious manner* (153) of Carrying on the Private Trade by the Company's servants, their Gomastas, Agents and others to the prejudice of the Subah both with respect to his authority and the Revenues justly due to him." Further, it disapproved (154) of "the diverting and taking from his natural subjects the Trade in the Inland Parts of the Country, to which neither" it nor any persons whatsoever dependent upon it or under its protection had "any manner of Right," as it might endanger "the Company's very valuable Privileges."

With a view, therefore, to remedying "all these disorders," it positively 'ordered and directed'—

"That from the receipt of this Letter a final and effectual end be forthwith put to Inland Trade in Salt, Beetlenut (*Sic*), Tobacco, and in all other Articles whatsoever produced & consumed in the Country, and that all Europeans and other Agents or Gomastahs who have been concerned in such Trade be immediately order'd down to Calcutta and not suffer'd to return or be replaced as such by any other Persons (155) ;

"That as our Phirmaund Privileges of being Duty free, are certainly confined to the Company's Export and Import Trade only, you are to have recourse to and keep within the Liberty therein stipulated and given as nearly as can possibly be done" (156) ;

and that "As no Agents or Gomastahs are to reside on account of Private Trade at any of the Inland parts of the Country, all Business on account of Licensed Private Trade is to be carried on by and thro' the means of the Company's Covenant Servants resident at the several subordinate Factories, as has been usual" (157).

Continuing, the Court observed that it was under the necessity of issuing these orders "in order to preserve the Tranquility (*sic*) of the Country and harmony with the Nabob." They were intended to be "rather outlines than compleat directions which" the President and Council at Fort William were directed by the Court "to add to and improve upon agreeably to the "spirit" and "meaning" of those orders, as far as it might be "necessary to answer the desired purposes." "And if any person or persons", the Court concluded, "are guilty of a contravention of them be they whomsoever they may, if our own servants they are to be dismissed the service, if others the Company's Protection is to be withdrawn and you have the liberty of sending

(152) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 8th February, 1764, para. 20.

(153) The italics are ours.

(154) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 8th February, 1764, para. 20.

(155) *Ibid.* para. 21.

(156) *Ibid.* para. 22.

(157) *Ibid.*, para. 23.

them forthwith to England if you judge the nature of the offence requires it" (158).

In its General Letter (159) to Bengal, dated 22nd February, 1764, the Court enjoined that due obedience should be paid to its "directions with respect to Private Trade," as contained in its General Letter of 8th February, 1764.

In his Letter (160) to the Court dated at Berkley Square 27th April, 1764, Clive, after indicating his acceptance of the office of Governor of Bengal, recommended that the servants of the Company should be "absolutely forbid to trade" in salt, betelnut and tobacco as it had been "one cause" of the disputes of the Company with Meer Cossim. This would he thought be "striking at the root of the evil." "The Prohibition of Dustucks to your junior servants", he also wrote to the Court, "will, I hope, tend to restore that œconomy which is so necessary in your Service. Indeed, if some Method be not thought of, and your Council do not heartily co-operate with your Governor, to prevent the sudden Acquisitions (161) of Fortunes, which have taken place of late, the Company's Affairs must greatly suffer."

As we shall have an occasion to see in detail later on, the Court issued further directions in regard to the private trade of its servants by its General Letter to Bengal, of 1st June, 1764.

Referring to the views of some of the Councillors at Calcutta on the question of the right of the Company's servants to participate in the inland trade in such articles as salt, betelnut and tobacco under the authority of the Mughal Farman, the Court stated in its General Letter (162) to Bengal, of 26th April, 1765, that treaties of commerce "are understood to be for the mutual Benefit of the contracting Parties." "Is it then possible to suppose," it asked (163), "that the Court of Delhi, by conferring the Privilege of Trading Free of Customs, could mean an Inland Trade in the commodities of their own Country, at that period unpractised and unthought of by the English, to the Detriment of their Revenues, and the Ruin of their own Merchants. We do not find, such a Construction was ever heard of until our own servants first invented it, and afterwards supported it by violence; neither could it be claimed by the subsequent Treaties with Meer Jaffer, or Cossim Ally which were never understood to give one additional Privilege of Trade beyond what the Phirmaunds expressed. In short, the specious arguments used by those who pretended to set up a right to it, convince us that they did not want Judgment but virtue to withstand the Temptation of suddenly amassing great Fortune, altho acquired by means incompatible with the Peace of the Country, and their Duty to the Company."

(158) *Ibid.* para. 24.

(159) Para. 110. The letter was addressed to the President and Council at Fort William.

(160) See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773, Appendix No. 2; also William Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, Appendix XLI.

(161) In Bolts's book (referred to in the preceding footnote) the word is "acquisition."

(162) Para. 23.

(163) See the *Ibid.*

The Court equally condemned (164) the conduct of those "who acknowledging they had no Right to it, and sensible of the ill consequences resulting from assuming it," had nevertheless carried on the inland trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco, and "used the authority of the Company to obtain by Treaty exacted by violence a sanction for a Trade to enrich themselves without the least Regard or advantage to the Company whose forces" they had "employed to protect them in it." "All Barriers being thus broken down between the English & the Country Government, and everything out of its proper channel." said the Court in conclusion (165), "We are at a loss how to prescribe means to restore order from this confusion, and being deprived of that confidence which We hoped We might have placed in those servants who appear to have been the actors in these strange scenes, We can only say, that We rely on the Zeal & abilities of Lord Clive and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee to remedy these Evils. We hope they will restore our Reputation among the Country Powers and convince them of Our abhorrence of oppression and Rapaciousness."

No less strong was the condemnation by the Court of the conduct of its servants in regard to their private trade, conveyed by its Separate Letter to Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765. "Your deliberations on the Inland Trade," it wrote therein (166) to the President and Council at Fort William, "have laid open to us a scene of most cruel oppression, and which is indeed exhibited at one view of the 13th article of the Nabobs Complaints mentioned thus in your Consultation of the 17th October 1764 (167) 'The Poor of this Country who used always to deal in Salt, Beetlenutt & Tobacco are now deprived of their daily Bread, by the Trade of the Europeans, whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the Company, & the Governments Revenues are greatly injured'. We shall for the present observe to you that every one of our servants concerned in this Trade has been guilty of a breach of his Covenants and a disobedience to our orders. In your Consultation of the 3rd May (168), we find among the *various extortionate practices, the most extraordinary one of Burjaut, or forcing the natives to buy Goods beyond the market price* (169), which you there acknowledge to have been frequently practised." It considered the privileges of the inland trade claimed by the Company's servants as unwarranted. The claim was "greatly to the prejudice of the Company by involving their affairs in Distress and Difficulties, and manifestly injurious to the Country Government" (170). "We shall say nothing further at present on the Inland Trade," the Court went on (171), "till that important

(164) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 26th April, 1765, para. 24.

(165) *Ibid.*, para. 26.

(166) Para. 10.

(167) Reference here is to the Proceedings of the Council at Fort William in its Secret Department, dated 17th October, 1764.

(168) 1764. Reference here is to the Proceedings of the Council at Fort William in its Secret Department, dated 3rd May, 1764.

(169) The italics are ours.

(170) See the Company's Separate Letter to Bengal, dated 24th December, 1765.

(171) *Ibid.*, para. 15.

subject shall have been taken up by Lord Clive and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee, only to observe, that the Regulations proposed in Consultation (172) the 17th October 1764 of confining the Trade of Our Servants in the article of Salt to the Capital Cities of Patna, Dacca and Moorshedabad on paying the Nabob  $2\frac{1}{2}$  p. Cent is a manifest Disobedience of our orders of the 8th February (173) then under your deliberation which positively forbid all Trade in Salt, Beetlenutt & Tobacco—nor does it by any means obviate the Nabob's objections arising from the Distresses of the Poor & the Injury to his Revenues, for if you pay only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  p. Cent and the Country People 20, or perhaps 40 p. Cent it is as much a monopoly as ever."

As we have seen before, in its letter of 4th March, 1767, to the Select Committee at Fort William, the Court repeated its previous instructions on the question of private trade by the Company's servants: "Our servants seem to Entertain the idea that our successes and our influence in the Country have for object the increase and protection of their Trade, this idea must be eradicated and they must be taught that the Phirmaund obtained from Furruckseer is still the boundary of our Commerical privileges—The indulgence to our servants of trade under that Firmaund must be confined to articles of export and Import, as expressed in the 16th Para (174) of our Letter of the 24th December 1765 to which we expect the most implicit obedience." And in a separate letter to Lord Clive, of the same date, it expressed its belief that nothing but "His Lordship's strong injunctions" could restrain its young servants "from a point in which their profit runs so counter to their duty" (175).

It should also be noted here that the Nawab of Moorshedabad had sent a representation to the Council at Fort William, stating his grievances in connexion with the inland trade in Bengal. Among other things, he stated therein (176):

"The English Gomastahs in the Districts of Dacca Rungamatty, Chilmory, and Bakergunge etc. force Tobacco and other goods upon the Talookdars and Ryots whereby the Country is desolate and a very heavy loss falls upon the Sircar. It is proper that a stop should be everywhere put to this oppression that the Country may flourish and the Inhabitants may everywhere pay their Rents in security and my Revenues may not suffer."

"The Poor of this Country who used always to deal in Salt Betelnut and Tobacco are now deprived of their daily Bread by the Trade of the Europeans

(172) Reference here is to the Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, of 17th October, 1764.

(173) 1764.

(174) Reference is to the following portion of the said paragraph:—

"No Dusticks shall be given but for Articles of Import and Export, as was formerly practised."—See the letter from the Court to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 24th December, 1765.

(175) See the Court's Letter to Lord Clive, dated 4th March, 1767.

(176) See Articles 6 and 13 of the Nawab's requests: *Vide* Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 17th October, 1764.

whereby no kind of advantage accrues to the Company and the Governments Revenues are greatly injured."

In consequence of these complaints of the Nawab and also in consequence of the Court's letter of 8th February (177), 1764, which had arrived in Bengal on 13th July, 1764 (178), the Governor and Council resolved at a Secret Consultation held at Fort William on 17th October, 1764, as follows:—

"It is resolved that the Inland Trade that is the articles produced in one part of the Country to be carried for sale and consumption to another shall in general be prohibited with such exceptions as shall appear to the Board may be permitted without the danger of creating disputes with the Government, or depriving the Nabob of his just Rights."

"After mature consideration of the subject and recollection of all the disputes that have happened and the complaints which have been made by the Government since this Inland Trade has been taken up we think that one and one only exception can be made consistently with the Company's Orders, and that is that it may be permitted to the Company's servants to send salt and Betelnut for sale to the Factories of Patna Cossimbazar and Dacca, or the Capital Cities of Patna, Moorshedabad and Dacca thereunto adjoining paying to the Country government on the article of salt the duties (179) agreed on with the Nabob in the last Treaty and on the article of Betelnut a like duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the price of the Chandpore market, and a Company's Dustick shall be given them along with the nabob's Rowanna" (180).

The Council also agreed that the above resolution should be "recited in (a) Letter to be immediately wrote to Dacca, Chittagong, Midnapore and Burdwan, with directions to carry the same into Execution so far as regards their respective factories." In regard to the oppressive practice of "Burjat" or "Genchoot" (181) the Council ordered (182) "in the strictest manner that no person Trading under the Company's protection shall on any pretence force the merchants or people of the Country to buy goods which they do not want or to give a price above the market, and whoever shall be found to be guilty of infringing this order shall be punished with the utmost Rigour." And with

(177) See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, Monday, 17th October, 1764.

(178) See the Commons' Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

(179) I.e. the duty of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the Rowanna or the Hoogly market price of salt. See the terms of the Company's Treaty with Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, dated 10 July, 1763.

(180) The Council further resolved: "The Company's servants who shall Trade in salt to the places hereinbefore expressed shall take the greatest care that their Gomastahs do deliver up the Dustick to the Company's Chief and the Rowanna to the naib of the Government on the salt being landed at the Factory or City to which it is consigned."

The object of this resolution was to ensure that "the salt shall be actually bonafide sold at one of the foresaid Factories or Cities, and not circulated through the Country under the influence of the English name or Dustuck.—"See Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 17th October, 1764.

(181) Burja—"Selling goods by force for more than the current market price": a practice (also) called "Guchaout".

(182) See the Consultation, Secret Department, Fort William, 17th October, 1764.

a view to giving effect to this order, the Council also resolved (183) that its Secretary should make the above decision known to the public and that the Nawab should be desired "to make it known to his officers directing them to complain to the nearest English Factory if any such attempts should be made by English Gomastahs within their jurisdiction" (184).

D. N. BANERJEE.

(To be continued).

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(183) See the *Ibid.*

(184) We also find in a General Letter (paras. 8 and 9) to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 16th August, 1773 :—

"We (i.e., the President and Council) caused a publication to be issued in every part of the Country setting forth that all Weavers and manufacturers should be at full liberty to work for whom they pleased and on no pretence whatever be obliged to receive advances against their inclination either from the Company or private merchants with a reserve however of completing such engagements as they have already entered into.

"We further resolved that if any covenanted servant should attempt to force advances upon the Weavers or Exercise any undue authority to make them enter into Engagement or work against Will, he should be suspended your service and that any Collector neglecting to give the natives redress on complaint being made to him for that purpose, should be removed from his station."

## Editor's Note

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**R**EADERS will be glad to hear that the Index to Volumes XIX to XXIX of "Bengal : Past and Present" is now available, and may be obtained from the Secretary's Office, 3, Nawab Abdur Rahman Street, or from the Office of the Hon. Treasurer, 9, Old Court House Street on payment of Rs. 7/8 per copy.

It is hoped that all subscribers to "Bengal : Past and Present" will arrange to purchase copies of this Index, which will not only be useful to them, but should also be a help to others engaged in this aspect of historical research. Moreover the sale proceeds of this publication will be at once utilized in the indexing of the remaining 35 volumes of the journal, which, including the honorarium to the indexers and printing charges, it is estimated, will amount to Rs. 3,000/-. For the present production the generous contribution of the sum of Rs. 1,000/- donated by Mons. Horihar Sett of Chandernagore was greatly appreciated, while any contributions to the indexing of the remaining volumes will be of considerable help and most gratefully received.

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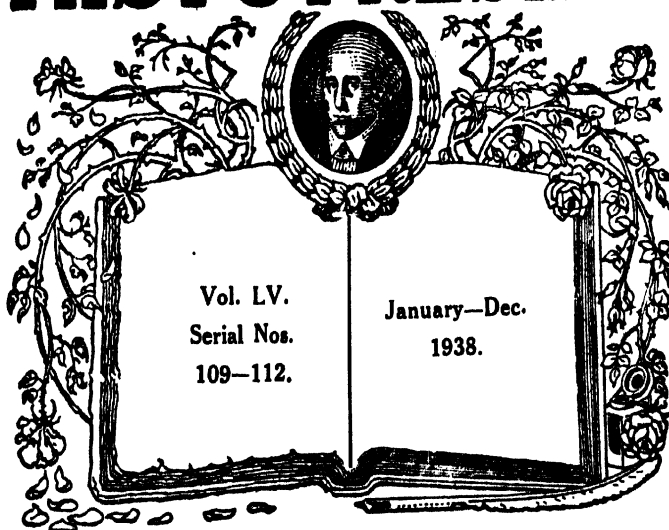
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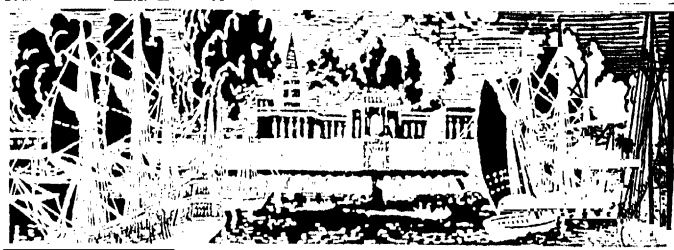
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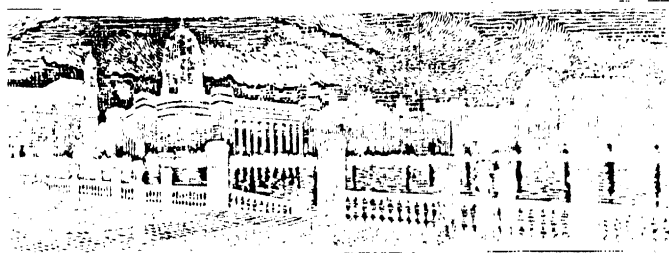
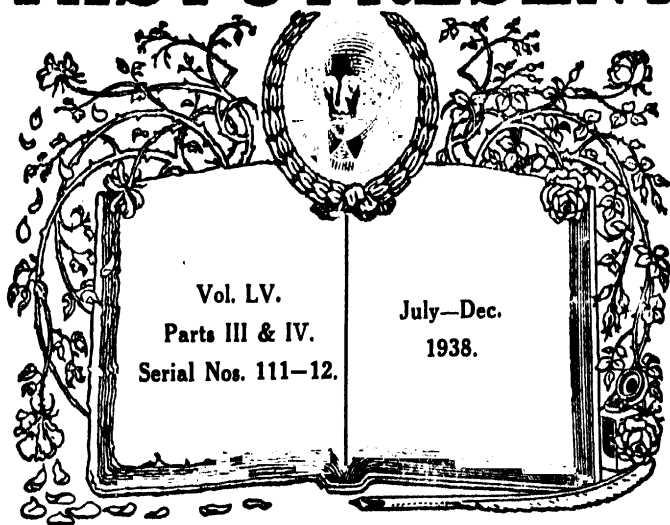
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Miniature painting on ivory of Raja Rammohan Roy.  
Reproduced by permission of  
Maharaja Sir Prodyot Coomer Tagore Bahadur, K.C.I.E.

## Editor's Note.

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**F**ROM the coloured painting on ivory in the collection of Maharaja Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore Bahadur, K.C.I.E., is herein reproduced with his permission the portrait of Raja Rammohan Roy before his departure for England on a mission from the Emperor at Delhi. The picture is a very rare one and shows the Raja attired in a costume ornamented with precious stones, and from the style of the dress, it can be safely inferred that the entire garment with its jewellery was presented to the Raja by the Emperor at whose instance he was proceeding to England.

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## Mirza Najaf Khan.

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AT a time when Shah Alam the last real Mughal Emperor of India was sadly lacking in resources and the once great Empire of his forefathers was fast dwindling into a mere shadow of its former self there appeared on the political firmament of India, a bright star in the person of Mirza Najaf Khan, who, though a foreigner to the land was destined to play a conspicuous role in the political history of India.

Mirza Najaf Khan who was a native of Persia is said to have been a lineal descendant of Muhammad, the Prophet of Arabia (1). When Tahmasp Quli Khan, better known as Nadir Shah, usurped the throne and territories of Persia he put under confinement all persons who claimed to be of blood royal including Najaf Khan, his mother and only sister.

In 1746 Mirza Muhsin Khan, brother of Nawab Safdar Jang, the Subadar of Oudh, was deputed by Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi on an embassy to Nadir Shah in Persia. This nobleman, interceded on behalf of the prisoners and secured among others the liberation of Najaf Khan and his family. Najaf Khan and his sister, Khadija Sultan Begam, then 13 years of age, came away to India with Mirza Muhsin Khan while his mother, advanced in age and unwilling to leave the place of her birth, preferred to remain in Persia. Shortly after their arrival in India Mirza Najaf Khan, in gratitude, gave the hand of his sister in marriage to Muhsin Khan, their deliverer.

Mirza Najaf Khan then took service under Muhammad Quli Khan, the Qiladar of Allahabad, and when the latter, at the instance of Shujaud-Daulah, the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, was murdered in cold blood, Najaf Khan, proceeded, in 1762, towards Patna in the hope of making his fortune there. He presented himself at the court of Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal, who was then at war with the English. The Nawab, who was on the look out for an enterprising and adventurous young man like him, received him cordially, appointed him to the command of a body of Mughal horse and sent him to fight the English. Najaf Khan fiercely attacked and bravely fought the enemy at Udhua Nala and other places and on all occasions he made himself conspicuous by his vigour, intrepidity and gallantry. But fate had decreed otherwise and Mir Qasim was defeated and practically compelled to retire into oblivion.

Mir Qasim now resolved to seek asylum in Oudh under Shujaud-Daulah, but Najaf Khan who was aware of Shujaud-Daulah's selfish mentality dissuaded

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(1) Maasirul Umara under "Zulfaqarud-Daulah."

him from taking this step. Mir Qasim, however, crossed over to Oudh and took refuge under the Nawab Vazir. Najaf Khan, having no confidence in the Vazir, left his master, Mir Qasim, to his fate and sought shelter in Bundelkhand (2) where he remained and faithfully served under Guman Singh, a chief of that place, till 1765. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765, Najaf Khan was sent for by Shah Alam and appointed Steward of the royal Palace. In this capacity Najaf Khan efficiently carried out his duties and by his unremitting efforts and unbounded zeal brought the confused state of the royal household and its finances to a stable footing. Shah Alam was so pleased with his fidelity and devotion to duty that he at once recommended him to Lord Clive for pardon for his past hostilities against the English and obtained for his maintenance a pension of 2 lakhs of rupees (3) payable from the revenues of the province of Kora. Shah Alam after leading a comparatively peaceful life for 7 years (1765-71) under British protection at Allahabad returned to Delhi in 1771 at the earnest persuasions of the Mahrattas who promised him a share in all their conquests. Najaf Khan followed his royal master to Delhi (4).

The first object to which Shah Alam directed his attention on his arrival at Delhi was the punishment of the contumacious Zabita Khan, the son of his late minister, Najibud-Daulah. Zabita Khan unlike his father had begun to show signs of disobedience and revolt. Shah Alam ordered the Mahratta forces to march in advance while Najaf Khan was directed to follow them with his body of Mughal troops. A terrific battle took place between Zabita Khan and the imperial army on the outskirts of Saharanpur. Najaf Khan fought with courage and determination and Zabita saved his life by flight. The Mahratta army hotly pursued the flying enemy but he managed to escape. They then took possession of his camp which was full of arms and ammunition, money and materials.

The Mahrattas contrary to the stipulations previously made by them, exclusively appropriated the spoils of victory and refused to share them with their Mughal comrades. This naturally created discontentment among the latter. Shah Alam was disgusted at this unseemly behaviour of the Mahrattas and resolved to get rid of them as soon as possible. With this object in view he ordered them to march forthwith against the Jats who were then raising the standard of revolt under their leader Nawal Singh. A few days later Shah Alam learnt with surprise that the Mahrattas, instead of giving fight to the Jats, were busy intriguing with Zabita Khan. The perfidious conduct infuriated Shah Alam to such an extent that he made up his mind to crush the iniquitous confederacy. Najaf Khan, the tried and trusted leader, was consulted in the matter. He advised Shah Alam, first of all, to augment the strength of the royal forces. Najaf Khan was accordingly appointed paymaster general of the imperial forces (5) and was entrusted with the task of raising fresh troops with promptitude and despatch.

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(2) *Ibid.*

(3) I. R. D., *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* Vol. II, (1767-9), No. 192.

(4) I. R. D., *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. III, (1770-2), No. 830.

(5) I. R. D., *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, (1772-5), No. 473.

Najaf Khan threw himself whole-heartedly into this task and by his indefatigable energy and unremitting toil he rallied round the royal standard a considerable number of troops within a very short time. He appealed to their loyal sentiments by publicly declaring that the rally was meant to protect the sacred person of the emperor and safeguard the imperial interest from the insolent menaces of the Mahrattas.

In the meantime the Mahrattas entered into an agreement with Zabitah Khan to obtain for him the royal pardon and the office of Amirul-Umara in consideration of a large sum of money. They sent an emissary to His Majesty to negotiate in this matter, but Shah Alam, relying on the ability and loyalty of Najaf Khan, assumed a bold attitude and dismissed the envoy with a curt refusal.

Najaf Khan, under the emperor's orders, marched his troops against the Mahrattas and posted himself near the Ajmer Gate while the Mahrattas, who overwhelmingly outnumbered their opponents, drew themselves up at some distance. A furious conflict ensued. Najaf Khan vigorously attacked the enemy and was on the point of winning the day when unfortunately he was wounded and disabled for the time being by an accident caused by the explosion of a wagon of ammunition. This caused considerable confusion in the army and Shah Alam convinced of the futility of prolonging the contest ordered the withdrawal of the imperial forces. He then opened negotiations with the enemy (6). The Mahrattas attended the royal court with Zabitah Khan. The latter was pardoned and appointed Amirul-Umara (1772 A.D.).

At this time the exalted office of Prime Minister was occupied by Husamud-Din Ali Khan, a low and debased courtier of Shah Alam, who had risen to power only by means of sycophancy (7). Himself an ignoble person, he eyed with jealousy the rise of Najaf Khan and missed no opportunity of belittling his high accomplishments and refined culture. After the reinstatement of Zabitah Khan he succeeded in convincing the emperor that Najaf Khan was solely responsible for his (the emperor's) humiliation and discomfiture and advised his immediate execution.

Najaf Khan foreseeing the gathering storm retired prudently to his own palace. There he collected his friends and dependents numbering about 3,000 around him, who pledged to lay down their lives in protecting him and his interests. Instigated by Najaf Khan's inveterate enemy, Husamud-Din, the Mahratta forces were order to assault his palace. Things for the time being assumed a very serious outlook. Najaf Khan though hemmed in by adverse circumstances determined to face the calamity like a true and valiant soldier rather than surrender himself meekly to his opponents. But Takoji Holkar, admiring the fearless and intrepid attitude taken up by Najaf Khan and being ashamed of the atrocious part his countrymen were adopting took upon himself the task of mediation and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation.

(6) I. R. D., *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. IV, (1772-5), No. 122.

(7) H. G. Keene : *The Fall of the Moghul Empire* (1876), p. 76.

Najaf Khan then proceeded to the royal presence and made his obeisance to the emperor who received him graciously and honoured him with a *khillat*.

In 1773 the Mahrattas were driven out from the Doab by the combined forces of Najaf Khan, Nawab Shujaud-Daulah and the English. With the departure of the Mahrattas, Husamud-Din Khan, their agent at court, fell from power and Najaf Khan was left free to carry out important administrative reforms and to chastise the Jats who were giving trouble incessantly. Nawal Singh, the Jat Chieftain, hearing of the approach of the imperial army, set out from the fort of Dig with his formidable forces and met it half-way. A short but decisive engagement took place. Najaf Khan inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and eventually forced them to retreat leaving behind them a camp full of arms and ammunition and other valuable effects. Nawal Singh with a few attendants took refuge in the fort of Dig and the rest of his army dispersed precipitantly.

The booty seized was considerable and this prevented the immediate pursuit of the fugitive leader. In the exultation of his victory Najaf Khan sent an express account of it to Delhi where the news was received with the highest satisfaction by Shah Alam and the nobles of the court. Rewards and honours were promptly conferred on him and his army by the emperor. Najaf Khan next led the army to Agra and laid siege to the town. The garrison was compelled for want of provision to sue for peace and ultimately surrendered the fort and its dependencies. The intelligence of this important event was at once conveyed to Delhi through a messenger who also carried with him the key of the fort to be laid at the foot of the throne.

Meanwhile, a treaty having been concluded between Shah Alam and Shujaud-Daulah at Delhi, Najaf Khan was recalled from Agra and commanded to join Shujaud-Daulah in his war against the Rohillas. He unhesitatingly obeyed the royal command and in conformity with the emperor's directions led his army towards Rohilkhand. He acquitted himself creditably in this war. After several desultory skirmishes he worsted the Rohillas at the battle of Katehr. Following the successful termination of this campaign he proceeded to pay his respects to Shujaud-Daulah who received him with due honour and as a reward for his meritorious services appointed him to the *niabat* of *vazarat*, an office more honourable than lucrative. Najaf Khan gratefully accepted the honour and returned to Delhi.

Arriving at Delhi he resumed his unfinished campaign against the Jats and marched towards the fort of Dig, the only stronghold of consequence left to the Jats, and proceeded to invest it. The fort of Dig was so long considered impregnable and was defended by a numerous garrison. The siege lasted for more than 12 months. The garrison had already become attenuated for want of provisions and the repeated assaults made by the besiegers when death suddenly claimed their leader Nawal Singh and caused chaos and confusion among the rank and file. Nawal's brother Ranjit Singh who succeeded to the command was determined to defend to the last the honour and prestige of his race. But his own troops became impatient and mutinied. In this

predicament he abandoned all hope of resistance and decided to withdraw from the fort stealthily.

On a pitch dark night he took with him his family and as much treasure as he could conveniently carry and effected his escape from the besieged fort. Next morning the besiegers were astonished to find the walls of the fort unmanned and no signs of activity of any kind whatsoever. Najaf Khan at first suspected stratagem but a closer inspection of the surroundings revealed the fact that the rebels had actually retired. He triumphantly entered the fort and took possession of it. With the capture of Dig in 1776 an immense plunder fell into the hands of the Mughal army. The remaining parts of the Jat country submitted quietly. Najaf Khan imposed heavy fines on the recalcitrant zamindars who had sided with the Jats and the money thus obtained was utilised in discharging the arrears of his troops. The conquest of the Jats was complete.

Najaf Khan now directed his attention to the collection of revenue and the reformation of the administration at Agra when he was suddenly called off by a letter received from Shah Alam who required his immediate presence at Delhi. On his arrival he was directed to march against Zabita Khan who had again become troublesome and who, at the head of a considerable number of Sikhs whom he had collected around him, was creating disturbances near the capital. Shah Alam who was by this time sick of Zabita Khan's treachery determined to inflict an exemplary punishment on him. He himself took the command of his army and accompanied by Najaf Khan marched against him. In the battle that ensued Najaf Khan utterly routed Zabita Khan and his confederates, the Sikhs. Zabita Khan fled for his life across the Jumna and the Sikh army melted away. Najaf Khan thereafter returned to Agra in order to resume his duties there.

About this time the regents of Raja Pratap Singh of Jaipur had grown refractory. They took advantage of the temporary absence of the royal army from the capital and suspended sending the customary tribute to the imperial treasury. Shah Alam accordingly ordered Majdud-Daulah Abdul Ahad Khan, a spirited nobleman of his court, to march against them. Majdud-Daulah, a second Husamud-Din in cunning and unscrupulousness, was eager to satisfy his own selfish ends and looked with envy upon the ever-increasing authority of Najaf Khan. Here was a favourable opportunity for him to gratify his ambition and to establish his influence over Shah Alam.

He gathered together an army and accompanied by Shah Alam marched to punish the Rajput prince and his wily advisers. The rebels offered a mild resistance but were eventually defeated. The easy success of the operation emboldened Majdud-Daulah to induce His Majesty to undertake a tour of the province of Ajmer and at the same time pay his devotion to the shrine of Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti, a Mohammedan saint of repute, at Ajmer. The idea was to separate the Emperor from Najaf Khan by a considerable distance and to use this opportunity to poison his mind against his own rival.

Najaf Khan hearing of the success of the operations against the Rajput prince and being apprised of Majdud-Daulah's evil designs ventured on a

personal visit to the royal camp. Leaving Agra to the care of his friend Muhammad Beg Khan he marched towards Jaipur. The Jaipur ministers after their disgraceful defeat tried to make peace overtures on behalf of their master. Negotiations had been started and a large *peshkash* was offered on the part of the young prince. Najaf Khan, when he was informed of the situation, wrote to His Majesty and advised him to the effect that the conclusion of any treaty should be held in abeyance till his arrival at Jaipur. Shah Alam had the sagacity to accept this advice and put a stop to all negotiations for the time being.

In a few days' time Najaf Khan reached the neighbourhood of the royal camp. Shah Alam hearing of his approach sent his third son Prince Yazdan Bakht to receive him with due honour and ceremony and conduct him to the royal presence. When Najaf Khan reached the royal camp he was received by His Majesty with marks of honour and affection. It was now that Majdud-Daulah realised the enormous influence his rival wielded over the emperor and how difficult it was to counteract it.

On the arrival of Najaf Khan negotiations with the Jaipur ministers were resumed. Raja Pratap Singh, who was naturally penitent, presented himself at the royal camp and offered a *peshkash* of 5 lakhs of rupees. He was pardoned and restored to the government of Jaipur. The royal army, having thus settled the affairs at Jaipur, returned to Delhi. Soon after his arrival Najaf Khan celebrated, with due pomp and grandeur, the marriage ceremony of his youngest daughter, with Nawab Najaf Quli Khan. Shah Alam graced the occasion with his august presence. A few days later Najaf Khan departed again for Agra, the seat of his administration and his favourite resort.

At about this time news reached Delhi of the defeat of the royal army under Majdud-Daulah at the hands of the Sikhs and of its disgraceful and disorderly retreat. Shah Alam was highly dissatisfied with Majdud-Daulah and urgently summoned Najaf Khan from Agra to retrieve the prestige of the imperial arms. Najaf Khan in obedience to the command marched hurriedly towards the capital. On his way to Delhi he was met by Majdud-Daulah whom he placed under arrest and sent him to the capital under a strong escort. Najaf Khan on reaching Delhi escheated his entire property to the royal exchequer. He then presented himself at court where he was received with every mark of favour and affection. In return he made an offering of 4 lakhs of rupees to His Majesty together with some fine Persian horses for the royal stable. He now lost no time in carrying out the mission for which he had been summoned. He hastily mobilised a strong army and sent it under his nephew, Mirza Shafi Khan, to check the disturbances of the Sikhs. The invaders assembled and faced the imperial forces near Meerut. But their unskilled mode of warfare fell far short of the disciplined valour of the Mughal veterans. The Sikhs were defeated and were compelled to evacuate the country with the loss of their leader and 5,000 men.

Najaf Khan, who had by this time set the affairs at Agra in order and whose presence there was no longer necessary, decided to pass the remaining days of his life peacefully at the capital. His Majesty, who also wanted this

old servant to remain by his side, favoured the idea and assigned to him for his residence the palace of his late vazir, Qamarud-Din Khan.

Najaf Khan had been ailing from severe rheumatic pains for several years. This was aggravated by other complications due to his irregular mode of life. In this bad state of health he languished for several months and died full of honours and glory on Monday, the 22nd Rabiussani (6th April, 1782). His death was deeply mourned by Shah Alam, who frequently visited him during his last illness. It was also lamented by the inhabitants of Delhi who loved and revered him. He was laid to his eternal rest in the sepulchre of Ali Mardan Khan at Aliganj to the south of New Delhi.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

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# Iltutmish as seen in his monuments.

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**A**BUL Muzaffar Shamsudduniyā Waddin Iltutmish is one of the great kings of Muslim India. He came to the throne as the elect of the Delhi officials and commanders and found himself secure and strong in the support of this most royal section of his subjects. His reign was eminently successful, and in place of the dismembered, disorganized kingdom inherited from Arām Shāh, he left a well-knit kingdom comprising the whole of North India, including Sindh and some parts of Malwa.

## THE EARLY HISTORY.

Though high born, he was sold as a slave on account of his brethren's jealousy. Fortunately while passing from one master to the other, he stayed for sometime with the cultured family of Sadr Jahan Bukhari. This stay was profitable for him ; for besides acquiring scholastic education, he cultivated the more manly pursuits such as riding and swordsmanship. Later, he was purchased by Qutbuddin at the price of one lac *jital* (1). Under Qutbuddin he rose rapidly from one post to another until he became the Governor of Badāun, married the king's daughter, and was addressed as 'Son'. Ultimately when Qutbuddin's son, Arām Shāh, proved a failure, he was raised to the throne.

He thus owed much of his prosperity to the patronage of his master, Qutbuddin. As king also, he followed his master's principles of maintaining an efficient administration, making additions to the Muslim kingdom and looking to the happiness and welfare of his subjects.

There are several monuments that are associated with Iltutmish (2). Some are situated in Badāun, where he had been governor and others in Delhi, in Gwalior and in Bahraich.

The first of his works is the *Idgah* which is a stretch of brick wall of 302'. Some attempts had been made at ornamentation *viz.*, to provide horizontal decorations and some blue colourings at the top of the wall. This is the earliest of his works and is associated with the period of his governorship under Qutbuddin. Even at this early period of his life he provided for the spiritual needs of his citizens. The *Idgah* (3) must have made him popular with his subjects and paved his way for higher honours.

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(1) If *jital* of Qutbuddin's time had the same value as in Alāuddin's, the sum would equal 2000 *tanḳas*. See Farishta (N. K. Press edition), p. 114, l. 3.

(2) For the full list of his monuments in Badāun see Fuhrer : *Monumental antiquities and Inscriptions* (A. S. I. publication 1891).

(3) Called *Shamsi Idgāh*.



## THE JAMI MASJID OF BADAUN.

The second building connected with Iltutmish in Badāun is the large Jāmi masjid. It measures 230' north to south and resembles in ornamentation the *Quwwat-ul-Islam* mosque of Delhi and the *Arhāi-dinka jhompra* of Ajmer. The site was originally occupied by a temple called Harmandir built by Mahipāl, a Tomar rājā of Delhi. As there is no specific mention of its demolition by Iltutmish, we may take it that it took place in some earlier period when immediately after the battle of Tarain and Chandwār the Muslims occupied the different districts of Hindustān. The demolished temple now supplied stone to Iltutmish for the walls of the mosque up to the height of 12'. Above this height, when no more stone was available, bricks, made on the spot, were used. In the central portion of the *liwān*, the masjid is surmounted by a dome of 43' in diameter, the thickness of its walls is 17' and the entrance gateway, built of sandstone with over-lapping arches after the fashion of those of the *Quwwat-ul-Islam* and of those of the *Arhāi-din-ka-jhompra*. It has an inscription indicating that its builder was Shams-ud-duniyā Waddin, Abul Muzaffar Iltutmish as Sultāni, Nāsir-i-Amir-ul-muminin. The inscription is dated 620 A.H.—1223-4 A.D. The word 'as-Sultāni' shows that Iltutmish called himself a slave of Sultān Qutbuddin (3) even though Qutbuddin had died thirteen years ago. The other parts of the mosque, e.g., the central entrance to the *liwān* gave way in course of time and were repaired once by Muhammad Tughluq and the second time by Qutbuddin, Jahāngir's foster-brother in Akbar's time. In appreciation of the mosque, Cunningham writes, 'although the Jami masjid of Badāun cannot be compared with the magnificent masjids of Delhi and Ajmer yet its great size and the massiveness of its walls gave a certain dignity to its ruined aisles which a smaller building would not possess' (4).

## THE HAUZ-I-SHAMSI OF BADAUN.

The third work at Badāun connected with Iltutmish is a large tank called the *Hauz-i-Shamsi* supposed to have been built like the Idgāh during his governorship. It also indicates the builder's interest in his people and his consequent popularity with them. Even when he ascended the throne and left Badāun for Delhi, he could not entirely forget his old headquarters and provided the city with the magnificent Jāmi masjid. It is only after he had provided Badāun with a tank and with a masjid that he built similar works in Delhi.

## ILTUTMISH'S WORKS IN DELHI.

*The Hauz-i-Shamsi.* In Delhi there are several works connected with Iltutmish. They are (1) the *Hauz-i-Shamsi* (2) additions to the *Quwwat-ul-Islam* (3) addition of several storeys to the Qutb *minar* (4) the tomb of Sultān Ghāri (5) his own tomb. Of these the *Hauz-i-Shamsi* is believed to be the earliest, and the date assigned to it is 627 A.H.—1229 A.D. It is situated in Mahrauli,

(4) A. S. I. memoir, No. 19 Pl. IV may be consulted.

one of the suburbs of the oldest Muslim Delhi called the *Qila-i-Rai Pithaura*. It still exists and measures more than two hundred *bighas*. In Iltutmish's time its banks were surrounded by red-stone buildings, of which a few are extant today. In summer, it is dry and hardly of any use to the people of the neighbourhood. But in Iltutmish's time it supplied water to the locality and the inhabitants must have been grateful to their king for his benefaction. The tank continued to be serviceable up till Alāuddin's time. There are references to the tank in Balban's reign. Being on the outskirts of the old town, the Mewātis or Meos used to molest the water-carriers and the women drawing water from the tank. So persistent were the outrages of the Mewātis that for some time the city gates had to be shut by sun-set. Baiban made up his mind to clear the neighbourhood of these highway-men, conducted a campaign, and took a terrible revenge on them. So useful had been the *Hauz-i-Shamsi* to the people of old Delhi that they continued to make use of it in spite of the insults and molestations they were subjected to. Iltutmish had also made extensive additions to the *Qutb minār*. The subject has been dealt with in a separate paper (5). Suffice it to mention that the second, the third and the fourth storeys have inscriptions in which occurs Iltutmish's name showing that he was the builder of the storeys. The inscription over the doorway of the second storey reads as follows :

THE QUTB MINAR.

امر باتمام هذه العمارة الملك المبريد من السماء شمس الحق و الدين ايلتتمش  
القطبي نصير امير المؤمنين

Tr.

The completion of this building was ordered by the king, who is helped from the sky, Shams-ul-haq-Waddin Iltutmish al-Qutbi, the helper of the Prince of the faithful (6).

In the inscription Iltutmish called himself *al-Qutbi*, which might have meant either that he was a slave of Qutbuddin Aibak or that he was a devoted disciple of the saint, Qutbuddin Kāki. As in one other inscription of the second storey and one of the third storey, the word *as-Sultāni* (السلطاني) has been used, indicating that he was a slave of Sultān Qutbuddin, it is very likely that the same idea was conveyed by the word *al-Qutbi* also.

The inscription on the second and third storeys are very much alike, and we shall content ourselves with quoting one of them only. It runs as follows :

السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم ملك ملوك العرب والعجم  
سلطان السلاطين في العالم حافظ بلاد الله ناصر خليفة الله الاسلام والمسلمين الحامي

(5) See the author's article, 'Qutb minār' in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, July 1937.

(6) The translations are those by G. Yazdani as given in *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-2.

البلاد الله الراعي العباد الله يمين الخلافة باسط العدل و الرافة ابو المظفر ايلتتمش السلطاني  
 بصير امير المؤمنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه \*

Tr.

The great Sultān, the most exalted Shāhinshāh, the Lord of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians, the Sultān of the Sultāns of the world, the protector of the lands of God, the helper . . . . . of the *Khalifa* of God . . . . . of Islam and the Muslims, the help of the kings and Sultāns, the defender of the land of God, the shepherd of the servants of God, the righthand of the Khaliphate, the spreader of justice and kindness, Abul Muzaffar Iltutmish as-Sultāni, the helper of the Prince of the faithful, may God perpetuate his kingship and rule and raise his power and rank.

#### COMMENT ON THE INSCRIPTION.

Here Iltutmish called himself the ally of the *Khalifa* and of the other Muslim kings and Sultans. This would be in accordance with the idea of solidarity that had existed in some form or the other in the Muslim mind. But when he uses the phrases (1) the master of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians, and (2) the Sultān of the Sultāns of the world, one feels that Iltutmish was making a boastful reference to his power. Such a vainglorious attitude is not usually associated with him. Even in this very inscription he calls himself a slave of the late Sultān, Qutbuddin, a person dead several years ago. There are other examples of his becoming sobriety. When the phantom *Khalifa's* envoy came to Delhi, February, 1229 A.D., he received him not as the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia but with becoming humility. Again, when Changhiz Khān came to India in pursuit of Alāuddin Muhammad Khwārm Shāh, and when Alāuddin appealed to him for shelter, he did not challenge the Mongol chief by taking up the Shāh's cause. Instead, he adroitly turned the fugitive away from himself to others and thus saved the nascent Muslim kingdom of Delhi from annihilation.

The inscription on the band of the fourth storey may also be quoted. It runs as :

امر بهذه العمارة فى ايام الدولة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم مولى ملوك الترك  
 و العجم شمس الدنيا و الدين معز الاسلام و المسلمين ذو الامن و الامان وارث ملك سليمان  
 ابو المظفر ايلتتمش السلطان ناصر امير المؤمنين \*

#### THE INSCRIPTION ON THE FOURTH STOREY.

Tr.

This building was ordered in the days of the rule of the most exalted Sultān, the great Shāhinshāh, the Lord of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of the Turks and the Persians, Shams-ud-duniya-waddin, who

renders Islam and the Muslims powerful, who bestows security and protection, the heir of the kingdom of Sulaimān, Abul Muzaffar Iltutmish as-Sultān, the helper of the Prince of the faithful.

COMMENT ON THE INSCRIPTION.

Now *as-Sultāni* gives way to *as-Sultān*, i.e., instead of calling himself a slave of Qutbuddin he calls himself the Sultān. This change may have been due to the recognition of his sovereignty by the *Khalifa* of Baghdād and the arrival of his envoy with a *farman* of recognition. If this view be accepted, the fourth storey must have been built in the year 1229-30 A.D. That it was built after the year 1227 A.D., the year of Changhiz Khān's death, is corroborated by the insertion of the phrase ( *مولي ملوك الترك* ) 'the master of the kings of the Turks'. This could not have been written in the lifetime of the great conqueror, Changhiz Khān. It was only when he was dead and his large empire was divided among his three sons, Chaghatai Khān getting the Central Asia as his share, that Iltutmish changed ( *العرب* ) to ( *الترك* ).

Chaghatai Khān was so much absorbed in his administration in Samarqand and in Bokhārā (7) that he had no time at his disposal to pay attention to the empty boast of the distant ruler of India, and so Iltutmish's assumption of the title of 'the master of the kings of the Turks' went unchallenged. Iltutmish did not like to put in "Al-Arab", for he now paid allegiance to the *Khalifa* of Baghdād, even though the Khalifa was a phantom ruler.

A word may be put in about his other title 'master of the kings of Persia'. This phrase has persisted in the inscriptions from the second to the fourth storey of the Qutb *minār*. Persia then was not one united kingdom as it is today; instead, it was a bundle of several small independent states. The Mougols had made repeated attacks on Persia and carried desolation in their wake. The sad plight of Merv, then included in Khurāsān, may be quoted from Yāqut, an eminent geographer and eye witness to the events, 'the people of infidelity and impiety (the Mongols) roamed through these abodes; that erring and contumacious race dominated over the inhabitants, so that those palaces were effaced from off the earth as lines of writing are effaced from paper and the abodes became a dwelling for the owl and the raven; in those places the screech owls answer each other's cries, and in the halls the winds moan responsive to the *simoon* (8)'. The other towns fared no better. In Nishāpur, every living thing (including the cats and dogs) was sacrificed to the spirit of Togachar'. Persia was in a state of agony and it had no energy left to protect itself against Iltutmish's assumption. As to the date of the completion of the Qutb *minār*, Smith's date, 1232 A.D., seems to be correct (9). It will then mean that the top portion of the Qutb *minār*, i.e., above the fourth storey, had taken two or three years to complete.

(7) See Skrine and Ross: *The Heart of Asia*, p. 161.

(8) Sykes quotes from Yāqut in his *History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 80.

(9) V. Smith: *The History of the Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p. 173.

## QUWWAT-UL-ISLAM MOSQUE.

Ilutmish made additions to the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque also. It was originally a *thakurdwara* (10) and consisted of twenty-seven idol temples. When Qutbuddin took possession of Delhi in 1191 A.D., he broke the idols and used the enclosure as mosque. Five years later, in 1196 A.D., he put up the name of his master in grateful recognition of the grant of viceroyalty to him. Still later, 1198 A.D. Qutbuddin put up the splendid screens to the covered *liwān* as a protection of the Muslim votaries against wind, rain, or the sun. Yet the Quwwat-ul-Islam at the time of Qutbuddin's death was a mosque of small dimensions, i.e., it measured 2' 4" east to west and 149' north to south.

Now when Ilutmish paid attention to it, he extended it in all directions except the west, so that the new size of the mosque was 230' east to west and 376' north to south and nearly threetimes that of Qutbuddin's mosque. The decorations on the extended screens have been compared with those on the screens set up by Qutbuddin in the following words by Sir John Marshall, the late Director-General of Archæology, 'In Qutbuddin's Screen the inscriptions were the only part of the surface ornament which was Muhammadan, all the rest was Indian and modelled with true Indian feeling for plastic form. In Ilutmish's work on the other hand, the reliefs are flat and lifeless, stencilled as it were on the surface of the stone and their formal patterns are identical with those found on contemporary Muslim monuments in other countries. It is fair, however, to add that what this latter work loses in spontaneous charm and vitality, it more than gains in organic unity and tectonic propriety (11)'. In plain words the quotation means that Ilutmish abandoned, to some extent, Qutbuddin's efforts to assimilate the indigenous art of India in high relief or the use of plaster, instead, he carved in low relief in stone and made it more consistent with the Muslim architecture of other countries. This change is also noticeable in Ilutmish's coins. Unlike the billon coins bilingual (Nāgri and Arabic), he issued purer silver coins with inscription in Arabic character only. The more orthodox character of Ilutmish has also been emphasised by Minhāj-i-Sirāj in his historical work, the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri*, and we quote here two of his sentences. While encamped at Gwālior for eleven months, ninety-five times religious assemblies were convened at the royal tents'. He also writes : 'never was a sovereign, of such exemplary faith and of such kindness and reverence towards recluses, devotees, and divines, and doctors of religion and law, from the mother of creation ever enwrapped in swaddling bands of dominion (12)'. All this indicates that Ilutmish was more pious than Qutbuddin.

Ilutmish's extensions are dated. The left pillar of the southern central arch bears the date \* *سنة سبع وعشرين وستمائة* 'in the months of the

(10) See memoirs of A. S. I. No. 22 Pl. I.

(11) *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 577.

(12) Lane-Poole has quoted differently. See 'A Short History of India in the Middle Ages', p. 17.

year 627 A.H. (1229-30 A.D.). We have seen above that it was about his time that the fourth storey of the Qutb *minār* was also built.

#### SULTAN GHARI'S TOMB.

Ilututish also built the tomb of his eldest son Nāsiruddin Mahmud, now known as Sultān Ghāri's tomb. The prince had been an exceptionally good administrator since the day of his appointment as governor of Oudh in 1225 A.D. He had been specially ordered to keep an eye on the recently subdued territory of Bengal. In a mood of generosity, Ilututish had allowed its ruler, Hisāmuddin Iwaz entitled Sultān Ghiyāsuddin to continue to rule in Bengal on conditions of surrender of Bihār and allegiance to the ruler of Delhi. But no sooner had Ilututish turned his back than Iwaz rebelled, expelled Ilututish's governor from Bihār, and ill-treated the Bihāri nobles who had acknowledged Ilututish's authority. Mahmud acted with decision. Without wasting his time in getting permission from Delhi, he invaded Bengal, occupied Lakhnauti, and when Iwaz, who had been away on a distant expedition, returned, captured him and put him to death. Ilututish was pleased with Mahmud and appointed him as his deputy in Bengal. During the short period of two years that he acted as governor he had succeeded in strengthening the administration of the province. The prince's success was recognised even by the distant Khalifa of Baghdad, for along with a letter of recognition for the King, Ilututish, another was sent for Mahmud, the heir apparent. Such an honour for a prince has been a singular instance in the Muslim history of India.

Unfortunately, the prince did not live to reap the fruits of the Khalifa's letter. Within two months of its arrival, he died in April, 1229 A.D. Ilututish had the corpse brought from Lakhnauti, built the tomb known as Sultān Ghāri's tomb and buried him there in 1229-30 A.D. (13). The plan of the tomb is unlike that of any other tomb. It stands in the middle of a square fortress-like-enclosure with round turrets at the four corners. On the west is a pillared portico 'flanked by colonnades extending from side to side of the enclosure' (14). The portico was to serve as a mosque and was provided with a niche or *mīhrāb*. The tomb itself stands in the centre of the enclosure, and is an octagonal chamber sunk to about two-thirds of its height below the ground-level. The roof of the chamber standing on pillars in some five feet in height from the ground-level. Since the tomb looks like a hollow cave, it is known as the tomb of the Sultān of the Cave. The tomb bears Ilututish's name and shows his love for the prince. Instead of burying him in Lakhnauti he brought his corpse to Delhi, the idea being that if he was unable to see him alive any more, he would at least be able to visit his tomb.

#### ILTUTMISH'S TOMB.

His own tomb is generally included among his works ; only Sir Syed Ahmad Khan asserts that it was Sultāna Razia's work. We accept the more

(13) The date is inscribed.

(14) C. H. I. Vol. III, p. 580.

popular view that the Sultān had built his tomb in his own lifetime in accordance with the general practice prevalent among the Mediaeval Muslim kings. Iltutmish's tomb lies at the back of the southern extensions of the Quwwat-ul-Islam made by him, though the actual location of the tomb is open to some doubt. As Sir John Marshall points out the Emperor Firuz had given a different description of the tomb but it would appear from his description that he was describing prince Mahmud's tomb which he wrongly identifies as Iltutmish's tomb. Be it as it may, we have accepted the traditional view of assigning to Iltutmish the tomb at the back of the southern extension of the Quwwat-ul-Islam.

The tomb is in the centre of a small chamber which has a *mihṛāb* on the west wall. The roof, now fallen, was domical and supported by squinch arches at the angles of the walls. 'The walls from floor to ceiling were covered with the Quranic texts in *Naskh*, *Tughṛā* and *Kufic* characters or with formal arabesques or geometric diapers'. The ornamentation is Islamic in character, and there is much less trace of purely Hindu influence. Since the artisans were either Hindus or converts to Islam, *i.e.*, those who were not entirely familiar with Muslim *motifs* but were acting under the direction of others, the effect has not been wholly satisfactory.

Turning to Ajmer, we find a mosque popularly known as the *Arhāi-din-ka-jhompra* associated with Iltutmish. The site was originally occupied by a college, founded in 1153 A.D. by Visāldeva Vighraharāja, as is clear from the inscription (15). After Vighraharāja, Prithvi Rāj came to the throne of Delhi and Ajmer, and with his death in 1192 A.D. both Delhi and Ajmer surrendered to the Muslims. In Ajmer, Qutbuddin was content with the removal of the idols and with the conversion of the college into a mosque, so that in 1192 A.D. the first *azān* was heard in the building. But the city continued to be ruled by Kaula, a relation of Prithvi. Qutbuddin's experiment of governing Ajmer by a Hindu deputy did not prove a success and Kaula was removed and a Muslim governor appointed instead in 1194 A.D. Five years later he made other additions. An inscription on the central *mihṛāb* is dated thus,

بنا جمادى الآخر سنة خمس وتسعين وخمسائة \*

'built . . . . Jumadal II of the year 595 A.H.' The month occurs in the Christian year 1199 A.D. Another inscription on the back walls of the mosque immediately under the roof gives the name of the Superintendent and the year and month of the construction. It is:—

فى تولية ابو بكر بن احمد حالى الهروى بتاريخ ذوالحجة سنة ستة وتسعين وخمسائة \*

Tr.

Under the supervision of Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad, Halu (khalu?) al Haravi ; date, Zulhijja of the year 596 A.D.

(15) See H. B. Sarda : 'Ajmer', p. 77.

The month *Zulhijja* falls in the Christian year 1200 A.D.

These two inscriptions belong to a period prior to *Ilutut*'s kingship.

The inscriptions connecting *Ilutut* with the building occur on the two minarets, which had given way and had been lying in the courtyard at the time when attention of the archaeologists was first drawn to the mosque. Neither of the inscriptions is dated, but from internal evidences, the year 1229 A.D. is assigned to both the inscriptions. Before taking them up, one may point to *Har Bilas Sardar*'s statement that the screens put up in front of the *liwān* was added in the year 1213 A.D. and that 'the work of reconstruction lasted from before 1199 to 1213 A.D., a period of more than fifteen years'. These screens are of great height, the central one being 56' high and 22'3" wide and 11'6" thick.

The inscription on the northern minaret reads as follows :—

سلطان سلاطين الشرق ابو المظفر ايلتتمش السلطاني ناصر امير المؤمنين خلد الله  
ملكه و سلطانه و اعلي في الخاققيس له شانه (16)

Tr.

The *Sultān* of the *Sultāns* of the east, *Abul Muzaffar Ilutut* as-*Sultāni*, the helper of the Prince of the faithful may God perpetuate his kingship and rule and raise for him his rank in east and west.

#### COMMENT ON THE INSCRIPTION.

It is interesting to note that *Ilutut* calls himself *Sultān* of the east probably meaning that the *Khalifa* was the ruler of the west. But he does not separate himself from the western Muslim world ; nay, he asks for his recognition in order to maintain solidarity of the Muslim world. That he is not in a vainglorious mood is clear from his readoption of the word as-*Sultāni*.

#### THE SECOND INSCRIPTION ON THE MINARET.

The second inscription is too long to be quoted in full. We shall only pick out the relevant portions :

... مولاي ملوك الترك و العجم ظل الله في العالم شمس الدنيا و الدين ... تاج  
الملوك و السلاطين قاتم الكفرة و الملحدين قاهر الظلمة و المشركين ... سلطان الشرق ... ابي  
المظفر ايلتتمش السلطان معين خليفة الله ناصر امير المؤمنين ... وذلك في العشرين من  
ربيع الآخر سنة ...

Tr.

The Lord of the kings of the Turks and the Persians, the shadow of God in the world, *Shamsuddinyā Waddin*, . . . the crown of the kings and *Sultāns*, the subduer of the evil doers and the polytheists . . . the *Sultān* of the East

(16) The last letters are not clearly readable.



. . . . Abul Muzaffar Iltutmish, as-Sultāni, the helper of the Khalifa of God, the defender of the Prince of the faithful . . . . and this was on the twentieth Rabi II of the year . . . .

#### COMMENT ON THE INSCRIPTION.

Here the sentence 'the Lord of the kings of the Turks and the Persians' recurs and Iltutmish's name and titles are repeated. The year of its completion was originally mentioned, but that portion of the inscription has now disappeared, leaving the historian to deduce it from the internal evidence. Horowitz, the then editor of the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*, argues that the Sultān had conquered Ramthambhor in 1226-7 and Mandāwar in 1227-8 A.D. and hence the reference to 'the subduer of the unbelievers and the heretics, the subjugator of the evil doers and the polytheists' and concludes that the inscription must have been put up after 1227-8 A.D. Again, from the words, 'the helper of the Khalifa of God, the defender of the Prince of the faithful' he concludes that the inscription was put up after the arrival of the Khalifa's letter of recognition. The envoy arrived with the letter on February 8, 1229; so that the earliest date that can be assigned to the inscription is 1229 A.D. It will be noticed that for the completion of the Qutb *minār* and for the putting up of the screens on the southern extensions of the Quwwat-ul-Islam the same year has been assigned. The Khalifa's recognition of Iltutmish's sovereignty was such an epoch-making event that Iltutmish proclaimed it by erection of buildings on a magnificent scale.

#### A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO MOSQUES.

A word of comparison between two of Iltutmish's mosques, his extensions of the Quwwat and the alterations and additions made to the *Arhāi-din-ka-jhompra* may not be out of place. The Ajmer mosque shows more of organic unity than the other and it is more than double its size and hence several parts of the edifice are correspondingly more spacious and dignified. In Delhi, the planning of the prayer chamber had been done on makeshift lines, the colonnades being too constricted and the pillars in them too low and crowded. At Ajmer, these defects were remedied. 'A single broad aisle on the three sides of the open court took the place of the two or three narrow ones at Delhi and the arrangements of domes and pillars in the large chamber (*liwān*) was made strictly uniform and symmetrical. The hall at Ajmer is one of solemn beauty and the bastions at the corners of the eastern facade are fluted and banded like the Qutb *minār*. Its arches are engrailed and hence a pleasing novelty and the screens, more massive and its decorative reliefs are 'admirable of their kind and its workmanship beyond reproach'. But the *jhompra* though perfect in all the technical details misses the subtle beauty and the lofty grandeur of the Quwwat. The minarets of the *jhompra* are meaninglessly set up, the niches and the tiny medallions in the spandrels are inappropriate, and the base mouldings end abruptly, and altogether it illustrates more a *tour de force* of technical skill than an artistic triumph.

The name, *Arhāi-din-ka-jhompra*, was at one time supposed to indicate that the time taken to build the mosque was two days and a half. This is absurd. May be, the first clearance of the idols was done in the time indicated ; but the completion of the building as we have shown must have taken a fairly long time. Even Sarda's fifteen years, 1199-1213 A.D. did not suffice for it. It was only in 1229 A.D. that it was finally brought to completion. Its name as has been suggested by Sarda, is after a local fair that was held under the patronage of the Marathas in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Round the mosque, many huts were built by the faqirs who used to gather there for the celebration of the urs anniversary of the leader, Panjaba Shah, the fair generally lasted two days and a half.

The mosque suffered centuries of neglect. Daulat Rao Sindhia was the first who took interest in its preservation. He restored its central dome and prevented the people from removing any stone from the building. But after him, spoliation continued till Lord Mayo's time. The place again became a mass of debris. The Archæological Department, under Lord Mayo's orders, undertook repairs of the place. But restorations on more thoughtful lines were only undertaken more than two decades after in Lord Curzon's time. Today it is once more functioning as a mosque, and what is more, bears testimony to Iltutmish's architectural tastes.

#### THE MOSQUE AT GWALIOR.

There are several other monuments assigned to him. One is a large mosque built at Gwalior in 1232 A.D. with the materials obtained from the demolition of the temples of Mahadev, Surya Deb, and Jayanti thora. In pursuance of his master's policy, he took advantage of the contingency of war to build a mosque with the materials of the Hindu temples. Gwālior was Iltutmish's first fief but during his governorship no persecution of the Hindus or destruction of their sacred buildings seems to have taken place. After Qutbuddin's death, the Hindus recovered the place. Now in 1232 A.D., when Gwālior was reoccupied by the Delhi soldiers, they demolished the three temples, acting under the king's orders or not. Iltutmish built his mosque with the materials of the demolished temples. Similarly, war contingency explains the destruction of the Mahākāl temple of Ujjain. The latter seems to have been rebuilt in Muslim times and today it is counted among the oldest temples of Malwa.

He also built two *dargāhs* at Badāun, one of Miranji and the other of Abham Shahid, and the Sultān's son, Nāsiruddin Mahmud built Salar Masud's *dargāh* at Bahraich. All of them are indicative of Iltutmish's piety and of his efforts in enlisting the co-operation of the *mullahs* and of his Muslim subjects.

#### THE CONCLUSION.

To sum up, Iltutmish's architectural activities were of a piece with the general spirit of his administration. A pious king, providing for the spiritual needs of his Muslim subjects he gave full evidence of the sound principles of

his administration in his architectural schemes too, due allowance for the Hindu sentiment as reflected in the profuse ornamentation of his monuments, and the idea of strength and solidarity as typified by their massive and dignified character. The style of his monuments is the man himself good and great, just and dignified.

S. K. BANERJEE.

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# Some unpublished documents relating to the Conspiracy of Wazir Ali.

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FOR a scientific study of the history of Modern India, the manuscript records preserved in the government record rooms at different places form a valuable source of information. These are full of minute details regarding the different aspects of the history of our country,—political, administrative, economic and social. Since 1934, I have been engaged in sorting a number of files of unpublished English and Persian records (dating from 1790—1900), preserved in the record room of the District Judge of Patna, for storage in the library of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, and have already published two papers (1), from the study of some of these records, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* of 1935 and 1936. Recently, I could discover in these files a few letters relating to the conspiracy of Wazir Ali against the English East India Company in 1798-99. A Persian manuscript entitled 'Mirat-ul-Ahwal' by Aka Ahmad Bahbani, who came to India in 1202 A.H. (1787 A.D.) and made himself fairly acquainted with the facts of political history of India during the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, has also supplied me with some important details regarding Wazir Ali (2).

Since the time of Warren Hastings, the buffer state of Oudh had a strategic importance for the Company, whose interests demanded that it should be made a strong barrier of defence in the north-western frontier of Bengal against the apprehended incursions of the Marathas and the Afghans. Thus, even Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, who tried to follow the policy of non-intervention as laid down in clause 34 of Pitt's India Act, interfered in Oudh affairs. After the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah of Oudh in 1797, Sir John Shore intervened in the matter of a disputed succession between Wazir Ali, whom Asaf-ud-daulah had acknowledged as his successor, and the deceased Nawab's eldest brother Sa'adat Ali. He raised the latter to the throne and concluded a treaty with him on the 21st January 1798, which considerably enhanced the Company's influence. It is interesting to note that this arrangement was effected with the support of some nobles of the Oudh Court such as Taffazul Husain Khan, agent of the Oudh

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(1) A. Some unpublished papers relating to Indo-British Administration and History, 1790-98.

B. Some unpublished papers relating to the Mutiny of 1857-59.

(2) I have consulted the copy belonging to Shad, a famous poet of Patna city, who died a few years back. There is also a copy of this work in the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

Nawab in Calcutta, Husain Reza Khan and others, all of whom were friends of the Company, and the Begam of the late Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah was persuaded by Sir John Shore to acquiesce in it (3).

Wazir Ali was allowed to reside at Benares on an annual pension of a lack and a half of rupees. He was naturally dissatisfied with the arrangement and spent his days at Benares in sullen discontent. In Oudh, the rule of the new Nawab did not produce any beneficial results for the country. In all respects, there were "embarrassment and disorder. The British subsidy was always in arrear, while the most frightful extortion was practised in the realisation of the revenue. Justice was unknown; the army was a disorderly mass, formidable only to the power whom it professed to serve. The evils of native growth were aggravated by the presence of an extraordinary number of European adventurers, most of whom were as destitute of character and principle as they were of property" (4).

Deprived of peace and order due to the prevalence of flagrant administrative abuses, Oudh fell an easy victim to Wellesley's imperialism. Lord Wellesley wrote a private letter to Mr. John Lumsden, the Company's Resident at Oudh, on the 23rd December, 1798, wherein he expressed his determination to take possession of the Doab with a view to strengthen the Company's north-western frontier, to substitute in place of the Nawab's troops "an increased number of the Company's regiments of infantry and cavalry, to be relieved from time to time, and to be paid by his Excellency", and "to dislodge from Oudh every European, excepting the Company's servants".

The Governor-General also wanted to remove Wazir Ali from Benares, as the military force stationed there was not considered sufficient "to guard against the danger either of commotion or escape" and as he suspected that Wazir Ali had sent a *Vakil* with presents to Zaman Shah, the ruler of Kabul, who threatened an invasion of Hindusthan (5). As a matter of fact, as the author of *Mirat* writes, Wazir Ali sent to Zaman Shah an agent named Mulla Muhammad son of Imam Quli Rauza Khan, who was one of the pupils of the grandfather of the author. Wazir Ali had previous acquaintance with Mulla Muhammad, as he was for some time tutor of Asaf-ud-daulah. Mulla Muhammad set out on his mission with a sealed letter from Wazir Ali to Zaman Shah and furnished with precious jewels and necessary equipments worth about 50 lacs. But his journey was soon known to the English and, when he had advanced up to Attock, they wrote to the Rajah of that place, apparently a friend of the Company, to capture him and to send his papers to Calcutta. The Rajah acted as desired by the Company. He killed Mulla Muhammad, took possession of his equipments and sent his papers to Calcutta. Wazir Ali was then summoned to Calcutta; he was informed of the fate of his agent and was shown his letter to Zaman Shah. But he

(3) *Mirat-ul-Ahwal*.

(4) Thornton, *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. III, p. 162.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 165; Wellesley's letter to the Court of Directors, dated 12th February, 1799, quoted in Martin's *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. I. pp. 129-32.

pleaded ignorance about Mulla Muhammad's journey. The English letters, studied here, also disclose that Wazir Ali was trying to organise a conspiracy against the Company and had some of his confederates in Bihar. He also sent agents even to Calcutta, Dacca and Murshidabad, probably with a view to combine with Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk of Murshidabad and his ambitious brother-in-law Shams-ud-daulah, who too, with a view to obtain the "effective soobadarry of the three provinces", had been engaged in a conspiracy against the Company and had deputed an agent to Zaman Shah (6). Thus some disaffected Muslim rulers and nobles were trying to secure the help of their co-religionist Zaman Shah in order to restore their lost powers.

When under the orders of the Governor-General, Mr. G. P. Cherry, the British Resident at Benares, communicated to Wazir Ali that he should remove himself to the vicinity of Calcutta, the latter decided to "accomplish the meditated revenge" on the Company. Outwardly he at first manifested no sign of dissatisfaction and arranged to meet Mr. Cherry at a breakfast. But on visiting Mr. Cherry's house with a number of comrades on the 14th January, 1799, he perpetrated a horrible massacre of a few Englishmen, such as Mr. Cherry, Captain Conway, Mr. Robert Graham, Mr. Richard Evans ; Mr. Hill, a trader, was dangerously wounded (7). Mr. Dav's, Judge and Magistrate of Benares, gallantly defended his bungalow with the assistance of a party of troops sent to his relief by General Erskine (8). Wazir Ali then retired to his residence, but soon escaped out of the city with most of his chief adherents in the evening of that day (9), evading capture by the British troops.

Since the flight of Wazir Ali, no disturbance whatever occurred in any part of the Benares district ; the city of Benares was then "in a state of perfect tranquility, the inhabitants following their customary occupations, with the Bazars all open and attended as regularly as usual by the country people" and there was "no cause to apprehend the renewal of attempts to disturb the publick peace, either in behalf of Vizier Ally or of any other person" (10).

The movements of Wazir Ali remained unknown for a few days, but the Governor-General took prompt and vigorous measures for his capture. It was suspected that he "may attempt to make his Escape to Zaman Shah". Mr. G. H. Barlow, Secretary to the Government, therefore wrote to Mr. John Lumsden, Resident at Lucknow, on the 20th January, 1799, to persuade Sa'adat Ali to "lose no time in issuing such orders as may appear most Effectual for intercepting Vizier Ally if it should be his object to repair to that prince (Zaman Shah)" (11), and to offer a reward for the apprehension of Wazir Ali or any of his adherents, who had been implicated in the late

(6) For details for this conspiracy, vide a letter from N. B. Edmonstone to Lord Teignmouth, published in the Indian Historical quarterly, March, 1937.

(7) Vide Letter No. 1, quoted below.

(8) Thornton, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 167.

(9) Letter No. 1 quoted below.

(10) *Ibid.*

(11) Vide Letter No. 2 quoted below.

horrible transaction at Benares (12). The Civil authorities and Major General Erskine were authorised to offer, on behalf of the Company, "a reward of Twenty thousand rupees for the apprehension of Wazir Ali, dead or alive" (13). The amount of this reward was soon raised to fifty thousand rupees. The Nawab of Oudh also offered the same sum besides "the sum of ten thousand rupees for the apprehension of Waris Ally and Izzut Ally, Vizier Ally's principal accomplices" (14).

At the same time, the Company's Government adopted necessary measures for the capture and punishment of the adherents of Wazir Ali in Bihar. Mr. Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna (15), was ordered to apprehend Rajah Jhao Lal and his dependant Balukram, who were suspected of being in league with Wazir Ali, probably because of their previous intimacy with him in Oudh, and to keep them in close custody (16). They were, however, soon found to be innocent and all restraints placed upon them, were removed (17). But several others, whom the Company suspected to be implicated in conspiracy with Wazir Ali, were apprehended in the course of a few months. They were Hollah Ally, "a secret agent" deputed by Wazir Ali to Calcutta in December (18), Suleman, who was sent by Wazir Ali to Mollah Ally, while the latter was in Calcutta, Mohuturim Ally Khan, son of Aslim Ally Khan, a *hakim* of Lucknow, one named Ismail (19), who went to Calcutta with Moolah Ally and Suleman, Syed Ashruff Ally Khan (also called Meer Yeheha Khan), Syed Fuzzul Ally, an inhabitant of Bihar, formerly employed in a particular office in Bihar, Mirza Jaun or Jaun Mirza, "supposed to be an Armenian (20), or possibly a Mogul" (21), Khaja Yacoob, an Armenian merchant with whom Suleman and Moola Ally were "connected at Patna" and through whom they carried on correspondence (22), Shah Shulam Ahmad, a resident of Shekhpoorah (Shaikhpura), then employed at Patna under Maharaja Kalyan Singh (23), and

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) *Vide* Letter No. 13 quoted below.

(15) He succeeded Mr. G. F. Grand as Magistrate of Patna in 1792 and held this office for twenty years.

(16) *Vide* Letters Nos. 3 to 6 and No. 8 quoted below. We get details about Jhao Lal's career in Mirat-ul-Ahwal and some other unpublished Patna records (English). Jhao Lal, son of Lala Gulap Ray, a Saksena Kayastha, was originally a favourite attendant of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah. Subsequently he rose to prominence in his court. But he was soon compelled to leave Lucknow and Benares because of certain intrigues against the Company and some nobles of the Oudh Court, and was allowed to reside at Patna, where a lane is named after him. *Vide* my article on him in J. B. O. R. S.

(17) *Vide* Letters Nos. 30 & 31.

(18) I. H. Q., March, 1937, p. 155.

(19) *Vide* Letters Nos. 7 & 9 & 10.

(20) References to Armenian traders in Bengal during the 18th and 19th centuries are found in several records, including even the Census Report of 1872, a copy of which I could consult in the Collector's office at Patna.

(21) *Vide* Letter No. 12 quoted below.

(22) *Vide* Letter No. 17 quoted below.

(23) *Vide* Letter No. 27 quoted below. Kalyan Singh was a son of Rajah Shitab Ray and the author of Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh.

one Shah Shems ud Deen Hossayn (24). Of these, Shah Ghulam Ahmed, Shems ud Deen Hossayn and Khajah Yacoob, were released in August, 1799 (25).

We know what ultimately happened to Wazir Ali from Mirat-ul-Ahwal, Mill (26) and Thornton (27). It was at first suspected by some that he had fled to Azamgarh (28). It is stated by Mill and Thornton that he found refuge in the territories of the Rajah of Bhutwal, a chief tributary both to the Rajah of Nepal and to the Wazir. There he was "joined by several disaffected Zamindars". Marquis Wellesley wrote later on on the 2nd January, 1801, to the Resident at Lucknow, that "active and general support" was offered to him by the subjects of the Nawab of Oudh. Being joined by several thousands of the discontented troops of Oudh, Wazir Ali advanced into Gorakhpur, where a skirmish took place between him and a detachment of the Company's troops. He was defeated and his followers abandoned him in large numbers, whereupon he took to his heels and found shelter with the Rajah of Jaynagar. This Rajah treacherously delivered him up to the Company, in return for a large sum of money, in the month of December, 1799. Wazir Ali was then carried to Calcutta and spent his last days as a captive at Fort William till his death in 1817.

The unpublished papers :—

1. "To obviate the effects of exaggerated reports, which may have arisen in consequence of what happened here on the 14th Instant, I thought it necessary to inform you, that since the flight of Vizier Ally on the evening of that day, no disturbance whatever has occurred in my division, nor from the intelligence I have procured, in any other part of the Benares District ; that at present the city is in a state of perfect tranquility, the inhabitants following their customary occupations, with the Bazars all open and attended as regularly as usual by the Country people ; and that I have no cause to apprehend the renewal of attempts to disturb the publick peace either in behalf of Vizier Ally or of any other person.

The following are the Europeans who fall victims to the assassins on the 14th Instant

Mr Cherry	} killed
Captain Conway	
Mr Robert Graham	
Mr Richard Evans	
Mr Hill (trader)	

Dangerously wounded."

(24) Same as note 8.

(25) *Vide* Letter No. 32 quoted below. I have retained the spelling of these names as found in the records.

(26) Vol. VI, pp. 191-92.

(27) Vol. III, pp. 168-69.

(28) *Vide* Letter No. 2 quoted below.



(Letter from the Foujdary Magistratt of Benares, dated Benares City Court, the 18th January 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

2. "You will no doubt have long since been apprized of the late melancholy occurrence at Benares, and of the flight of Vizier Ally.

From the intelligence received from the magistrate of Benares, there is reason to suppose that Vizier Ally has fled to Azumgur. If this intelligence should have proved authentic, there can be no doubt that Major General Erskine will have . . . immediately pursued Vizier Ally ; and that you will have applied to Nabob Vizier to give orders to the Commanders of the Troops in the parts of his dominions bordering on Benares to cooperate with General Erskine for the apprehension of Vizier Ally and his adherents and also for the suppression of any disturbance which they may attempt to excite in the Country.

It is not improbable, however, that Vizier Ally may attempt to make his escape to Zumaun Shah. It will therefore be expedient that his Excellency the Vizier should lose no time in issuing such orders as may appear most effectual for intercepting Vizier Ally if it should be his object to repair to that prince.

You will also recommend to the Vizier to offer a reward for the apprehension of Vizier Ally or any of his adherents who were concerned in the late horried transaction at Benares, and you will suggest to him the necessity of Dispatching orders, with all expedition for the apprehension of Vizier Ally to every part of his Territories, so as to prevent his escaping into the dominions of any foreign power.

The Civil Authorities and Major General Erskine have been authorized to offer a reward of Twenty thousand Rupees for the apprehension of Vizier Ally alive or Dead." (Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., Dated Council Chamber, the 20th January 1799, to John Lumsden, Resident at Lucknow).

3. "The Vice-President in Council having reason to believe that Rajah Jaou Loll, formerly in the service of the late Vazier Assufud Dowlah, has been carrying on a correspondence with Vizier Ally, the Vice-President in Council desires that you will apprehend Jaou Loll and his dependant Balukram, and keep them in close custody in a House which you will provide for that purpose.

ii. It should be an object of your particular attention to endeavour to obtain possession of the Private papers of Jaou Loll and Balukram. To ensure the accomplishment of this object, it will be necessary that your measure should be taken with the utmost secrecy.

iii. You will take Jaou Loll and Balukram into custody between the 17th and the 20th of next month, unless you should previously receive any application from the Magistrate at Benares to defer their apprehension to late date." (Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., dated Fort William, the 22nd February, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate at Patna.)

4. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire that in the event of Vizier Ally not having been apprehended, you will increase the reward for his apprehension from Twenty to Fifty thousand Rupees, and that you will issue the necessary publications accordingly." (Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., Dated Fort William, the 27th February, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate at Patna.)

5. "In a letter that I have just received from Col. Vannas Commanding at Gorroukpoor, he reports to me that people whom he had sent out for information had that day (the 22nd) returned to him "and they" "met with two Piadas in their route returning" from Patna who had carried Letter from "Vizier Ally to Jou Loll in that City—the "real purpose of this expedition could not be learnt."

It may be proper to apprise you, that we have every reason to believe the former part of the Report made by these people to Col. Vannas which relates to the situation of Vizier Ally at Bhituul to be false, and therefore a strong doubt may exist as to their veracity in that which I have quoted. As however Jou Loll is a person who may reasonably be suspected of having entered with the views of Vizier Ally I have thought it would be proper to acquaint you with the circumstances that by communicating it to the proper Civil Servant of the Company at Patna, a watch might be kept on the conduct of the person alluded to." (Letter from J. H. Craigg (or Craigh) officer commanding at Dinapore, dated 25th February, 1799).

6. "Having duly considered your Letter of the 3rd instant with the several circumstances which gave rise to it, are of opinion that it will not be necessary for you to take any further steps with respect to Rajah Jaou Loll, than those you have already adopted, unless some thing further comes out against him which make an alteration in your conduct advisable." (Letter from C. Keating and M. Leslie, Dated Patna Court of Appeals, the 6th March, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the City of Patna).

7. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire that you will endeavour to apprehend the following persons if they should be found within the limits of your jurisdiction or any places adjacent.

Mollah Ally a secret agent deputed by Vizier Ally to Calcutta.

Mohturrim Ally Khan, the son of Moolah Ally.

Solymaun a person deputed by Vizier Ally to Moollah Ally whilst he was at Calcutta.

You will endeavour also to secure the papers of these persons.

You will take your measures for the apprehension of these persons with the greatest secrecy, and you will not disclose these orders excepting to the agents whom you may employ for carrying them into effect".

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., Dated Council Chamber the 18th March, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate at the city of Patna).

8. "I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General to intimate to you His Lordship's desire that you will immediately take such measures as may be in your power without exciting the apprehensions or manifesting

any suspicion of Rajah Jaoo Laul, for ascertaining the number and description of the persons composing his family and retinue, the nature and extent of his intercourse with Persons of rank and condition at Patna, as well as of his foreign correspondence and connections ; and report to me for the information of his Lordship the result of your enquiries, together with such further circumstances of his general conduct, condition and views, as you may be already acquainted with or may be able to ascertain.—His Lordship further desires that under the same precautions you will continue to keep yourself informed upon the points above mentioned, as far as may be practicable.

I am further directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General to take the present occasion of intimating to you his surprise at Rajah Jaoo Lall's being suffered to repair to Calcutta without the permission of Government and without any intimation from you either of the Rajah's design or of his actual departure from Patna you were officially informed that it was the pleasure of Government that he should reside.

In consequence of this omission the Rajah arrived in the neighbourhood of Calcutta before it was known to Government that he had quitted Patna, and his presence was the occasion of great trouble and embarrassment. His Lordship directs me to observe, that, the pressure and importance of other public affairs has alone prevented him from conveying to you His Sentiments upon this subject until now. His Lordship now instructs me to request that hereafter, you will not allow Rajah Jaoo Laul to quit Patna upon any pretence whatever, without the permission of Government, to which end, on receiving notice of any such intention on his part you will be pleased to signify to him the orders you have received, and require him to suspend it, until the pleasure of Government shall be known".

(Letter, Dated Fort St. George, the 26th March, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Judge and Magistrate at Patna).

9. "I am directed to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a paper of information respecting the Agents and Vizier Ally at Calcutta.

ii. From this paper you will observe that Mohterim Ally Khan is said to be the son of Aslum Ally Khan, and not of Mollah Ally.

iii. You will endeavour to apprehend Azlum Ali Khn, Sullimaan and Ismail, if they are at Patna.

iv. You will also endeavour to seize their private papers keeping their contents secret, and sending the originals to Calcutta after taking copies of them".

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., Dated Fort William, the 21st March, 1799, to the Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

10. "From information received this morning I have reason to suppose that Sulliaman Moolla Alli and Ismail have taken the rout to Patna and as it must now be difficult if not impossible for them to join Vizier Ally, I think it very probable that they will endeavour to conceal themselves there.

Sulaimaan is stated to be a tall stout man of fair complexion and about 35 or 40 years of age. Has five or six Khitmudgars in his employ.

Moolla Alli about 50 years of age—tall and rather thin, fair complexion and Round Black Beard.

Ismail was wounded in several parts of his Baily, (belly) and carried one of his arms in a sling—These wounds are said to have been received in a family quarrel either at Benares or Lucknow shortly before he came to Calcutta, and were not cured when he went away.

(A true copy signed G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt.).

Enclosure of the 21st Mar., 1799.

#### Memorandum

11. Sullimaan or Aga Sullimaan arrived in Calcutta about three months ago from Benares—was supposed to be in the service of Vizier Alli, and to have brought with him 40,000 Rs. to purchase articles for Vizier Alli, about five or six days after the account of the Benares massacre reached Calcutta, Sullimaan went away intending as he said to return to Benares, Sullimaan during his residence at Calcutta, associated chiefly with the Armenians—In himself a Mussalmaan but said to be originally Armenian.—

Moolla Alli came to Calcutta and resided in the same house with Sullimaan.—Seven or eight days after Sulliman's departure Moolla Alli also left Calcutta giving out that he intended to returning Benares.

Ismail arrived in Calcutta with Sulliman and Moolla Alli—went away with Sulliman.—

Mohterim Alli son of Aslim Alli Khan Hakeem at Lucknow arrived in Calcutta about eight or nine months ago, stating that he had quarrelled with his Father, and had therefore left him—after residing about two months at Colootola, Mohterim Alli went to Dacca, and shortly after his departure Aslim Alli came to Calcutta in search as he said of his son.—Aslim Alli remained in Calcutta till about a month and a half ago, and then set out to return as he stated to Lucknow. Whether the Father and son corresponded or not is unknown, but shortly before the Father left Calcutta Sheik Mooseeta Gomashta on the part of Alamass Alli Khan, for managing his indigo concerns in Calcutta, received a letter from Mohterim Alli at Dacca,—stating that he was going to Moorshidabad from whence he should proceed to Beerbhoom, and return from thence to Calcutta.

(A true copy signed G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt.).

12. "The Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council desires that you will endeavour to apprehend Syed Ashruf Ally Khan Bahadur (also called Meer Yeheha Khan and Syed Fuzzul Ally) a person formerly employed in the . . . . office in Behar and Mirza Jaun or Jaun Mirza supposed to be an Armenian, or possibly a Mogul.

ii. The three persons have been employed by Shems ud dowlah in certain intrigues in Behar.

iii. You will endeavour at the same time to secure the papers of these persons, keeping the contents of them secret, and forwarding the originals to Calcutta after keeping copies of them.

iv. You will not disclose these or any other orders you may receive respecting the conspiracy of Vizier Ally and Shems ud dowlah farther than

may be necessary for the guidance of the Agents you may employ in carrying them into execution."

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, Dated Fort William the 22nd March, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

13. "The Vice-President in Council thinking it probable that Vizier Ally may endeavour to make his escape in disguise, directs that you take the most speedy and effectual measures for ensuring his apprehension, should he attempt to pass through your jurisdiction.

ii. You will of course have made it known that this government have offered a reward of Fifty thousand rupees for Vizier Ally's apprehension, and that the Nabob Vizier has offered the same sum, besides the sum of Ten thousand rupees for the apprehension of Waris Ally and also Izzut Ally, Vizier Ally's principal accomplices."

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, Dated Fort William, the 23rd March, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

14. "I enclose you extract of a Letter from Mr Secretary Barlow to me under date 22nd Instant for your information and guidance should any of the persons be found in your jurisdiction.

ii. I have reason to believe that Syed Fasul Ally ; and Syed Ashruff Ally Khan Behadur, Alias Meer Yeha Khan are residents of Bykuntpoor in Behar.

iii. I am uninformed of the family resident of Meerza Jaun Tuppas but he has been for several years in the service of the Nabob Nuzim at Moorshadabad and is well known at that place.

iv. Tho' I have written to the Magistrate of Behar yet as Bykuntpoor is near Patna and all expedition should be used I would recommend your immediately taking measure to enforce the orders of Government."

(Letter from William Camac, Magistrate of the city of Dacca, dated the 25th March, 1799, to H. Douglas, the Magistrate of Patna).

15. Para iv. "The Vice-President in Council also desires that you will apprehend Syed Fuzzul Ally, and Syed Ashruff Ally Khan Bahadur (also called Meer Yeheha Khan) and also the person called Meerza Jaun endeavouring at the same time to secure their papers.

v. If the above mentioned persons are not at Dacca, you will write without delay to the Magistrate in whose Jurisdiction they may at present reside, to seize, and keep them in close custody, taking the necessary measures to secure their papers at the time of their apprehension. You are desired to keep the contents of all the papers which may fall into your hands secret.—  
(Extract of a Letter from Secretary Barlow, under date 22nd March, 1799).

16. "The Vice-President in Council deeming it probable that the correspondence of some of the conspirators may be intercepted at the Post Offices you are hereby authorised to apply to the Postmaster at Patna to send for your inspection any Letter to or from the persons you have been directed to apprehend, as also the Letters to or from any suspected persons.

You will forward to Government the originals of any Letters connected with the subject of the conspiracy of Vizier Ally and Shumsud Dowlah, after taking copies of them.

You will communicate to the Postmaster the authority under which you apply to him to deliver to you the Letters.

(Letters from G. H. Barlow, dated Fort William, the 25th March, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

17. "I am directed to transmit to you, the enclosed copy of some intelligence respecting Solymaun, and Moollah Alli, two of the agents of Vizier Ally, whom you were desired to apprehend.—

ii. You will also apprehend Khaja Yacoob, and endeavour to possess yourself of his private papers.

iii. You will dispatch by Dauk copies of any material papers which may fall into your possession, without delay, and afterwards send the originals.—

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, dated the Fort William, the 29th March, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

Memorandum—

Khujia Yacoob, an Armenian merchant, is stated to be the person with whom Sulliman, and Moolla Alli are connected at Patna, and through whom, their correspondence is carried on. The person from whom this information was received, has offered to convey a Letter, and procure an answer from Sulliman.—

(A true copy signed G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt.).

18. "Syed Fuzul Ally one of the persons I wrote you respecting on the 25th ultimo I understand left Dacca in company with Mahomed Bukhs his Relation about the 20th of March for Patna. He is the son of Shah Alif and resides, I am informed, in the city of Patna in the Choki opposite the House of Kumeea Lal Gundy near to the Hummums and to the house of Babu Anderson or Henderson.

It would be of great importance if you could get possession of his papers at the same time you secure his person. I have no doubt but is now on his way to Patna tho' he may not arrive some time after you receive this letter.

The Vice-President in Council has directed that the original papers be forwarded to Government after copies shall be made of them."

(Letter from William Camac, Magistrate of the city of Dacca, Dated Dacca the 1st April, 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

19. "I beg leave to inform you that I have received orders from the Secretary to the Government to apprehend a person named Syed Fuzzul Ally and as I think it is not impossible he may proceed to Patna I do myself the honor to enclose you a description of his person and request you will be so obliging as to apprehend him together with the papers and seal found within your jurisdiction.

I have information of his having accompanied Syed Asuruf Ally Khan Bahadur from Patna to this place, from hence they went to Calcutta and in Maug 1205 B.S. Syed Fuzzul Ally returned sick to Moorshedabad intending to go to his house ; which, I have heard from the Magistrate at Dacca, is he believes situated in Bykuntpoor in Behar. On his arrival here Syed Fuzzul Ally was prevailed on by Mirza Jaung Tuppuh to go to Dacca, and accounts of his arrival at Dacca were received by Mirza Jaung Tuppuh ; from Dacca he intended going to Calcutta but has not yet arrived there and I am induced to believe he is on his way either to this place, Calcutta or Patna."

(Letter from John Fendall, Magistrate of the city of Moorshedabad, dated Moorshedabad the 2nd April, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

20. "I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo.

ii. You will immediately send Moolah Alli, Suliman and Ismail, in strict custody under a proper escort, by water to Calcutta, giving directions to the officer commanding the escort, to take every necessary precaution against their escape, and to resist to the utmost any attempt to rescue them.

iii. All the original papers you have seized must be sent to me by the same conveyance, although many of them may appear to you of no importance they may possible throw light on other papers which have fallen into the possession of Government."

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., Dated Council Chamber the 4th April, 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

21. "I transmit to you herewith by order of the Hon'ble Vice-President in Council, Descriptions of the Persons of Vizier Ali, Waris Alli and Izzut Ali, that you may take such measure as may be thought most advisable to prevent their effecting their escape in Disguise."

(Letter from J. Lumsden, Dated Lucknow, the 5th April, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

22. "I beg leave to inform you that I have this day received positive information that Syed Fuzzul Ally and Mahummud Buksh left Dacca about the 20th of last month professedly for Patna."

(Letter from John Fendall, dated Moorshedabad, the 6th April, 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

23. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to acquaint you that all the persons you were directed to seize except Fuzzul Ally have been apprehended. As it is of great importance that Fuzzul Ally should not escape you will continue your endeavour to apprehend him."

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., Dated Fort William, the 16th April, 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

24. "I have the honor to inform you that the police officers of the Magistrate of Zillah Moorshedabad have apprehended Syed Fazzul Alli and his companions."

(Letter from John Fendall, dated the city of Moorshedabad, the 18th April, 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

25. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire that you will seize the persons of Mufty Golaum Mukdoo, and Shah Shamsuddeen Hussain with their respective papers and seals.

ii. An impression of the seal of Mufty Golaum Muckdoo affixed to some papers in the possession of Government is enclosed.

iii. You will have a memorandum endorsed on all the papers which may be found on these persons, specifying where, when and by whom the papers were found, in order that there may be no difficulty in the identification of the papers if necessary.

iv. You will seal up the seals in paper, under own seal and dispatch the papers and seals to Calcutta.

v. You will send copies of any other papers which may appear to you of importance by Dawk.

vi. You will keep Golaum Mukdoo and Shah Shemsudden in close custody."

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., Dated Fort William the 20th April, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate at Patna).

26. "I am favoured with your letter under date the 15th Instant and in reply beg leave to inform you that Mirza Jaun Tuppish has been apprehended by me and sent down to the Presidency sometime ago."

(Letter from John Fendall, Magistrate, Dated the city of Moorshedabad, the 22nd April, 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

27. "In consequence of orders from Mr. Secretary Burlow, copy of which is annexed, I wrote to the duroghah of Shekhpoorah, to seize the person of Shah Ghulam Ahmad with his papers and seals. It appears from the duroghah's answer this day received that Shah Ghulam Ahmad is in reality a resident of Shekhpoorah, but at present a servant of Maharaja Culian Singh and with his son Koonwar Doulat Sing at Patna. Permit me therefore to request you will take the most secret and immediate steps towards complying with Mr. Barlow's orders; and in the meantime I shall again order his home at Shekhpoor to be searched."

(Letter from A. Tufton, Magistrate of Behar, dated Zill Behar, the 13th May, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

28. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire that you will apprehend Shah Ghulam Ahmad son of Mukdoo Shah of Shaikhpoore and endeavour to secure his papers and seals.

You will be careful to have a memorandum noted on each paper specifying when, where and by whom it was found in order that there may be no difficulty in establishing the identity of the papers if necessary.

You will keep Shah Ghulam Ahmad in confinement till further orders.

You will keep copies of such of his papers as you may think of importance, and send the originals to me by dawk.

You will be careful to keep the contents of the papers which may fall into your possession secret."



(True copy of Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., Dated Fort William, the 1st May, 1799, to Alfred Tufton, Magistrate at Bihar).

29. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th ultimo, and to inform you that Puhlwan Singh Jamadar has delivered over to me the person of Moullah Alli, Sulimaun, and Ismail, with the papers marked from A. to F."

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, Secy., to the Govt., Dated Fort William, the 13th May, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

30. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire, that you will withdraw the Guard placed over Rajah Jao Loll's House, and that you will inform him, that he is no longer to consider himself under restraint.

ii. You will also inform him that all his papers will shortly be returned to him.

iii. In communicating the above orders to Rajah Jao Loll, you will acquaint him that it has afforded the Vice-President in Council, the greatest satisfaction to find, that the suspicions which occasioned his being subjected to restraint have proved without foundation, and that he may rely with the fullest confidence on the future favor and protection of Government."

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, Dated Fort William the 25th July, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

31. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire, that you will withdraw the Guard placed over Bulluk Ram, at the same time informing him that he is no longer to consider himself under restraint.

"You will likewise inform Bulluk Ram that his papers will be returned to him in a few days."

(Letter from John Stracey, Sub-Secretary, Dated Fort William the 20th August, 1799, to Henry Douglas, Magistrate of the city of Patna).

32. "I am directed by the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council to desire that you will release, Shah Ghulam Ahmed, Shah Shams ud Deen Hosseyn and Khajah Yacoob."

(Letter from G. H. Barlow, dated Fort William, the August 28th, 1799, to H. Douglas, Magistrate of Patna).

K. K. DATTA.

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# The Abdali Menace to Bengal (1767-9).

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THE most pressing problem that Verelst had to face after taking charge of the Presidency and Governorship of Fort William was the defence of Bengal against the threatened advance of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The latter had already appeared (1) in India with a large army, and it was reported that the force which he now commanded was probably more formidable (2) than the one that had routed the Marathas at Panipat. In his farewell letter (3) to the Select Committee, Clive had particularly warned the members of the danger from the Abdali, and of the possibility of an alliance between Mir Qasim and the latter in the following words, "Cossim Ally Cawn . . . is gone to the north, and there is no doubt but that intriguing miscreant will use all the influence which money and persuasion can give to prevail upon Abdallah to come this way should he be induced to make such an attempt. Let us consider that this Northern Prince commands an army of the same nation which under Nadir Shaw conquered Persia, defeated the Turks, and routing the army of the great Mogul made themselves masters of his person, his capital Delhi, and all his treasures. We ought, therefore, in my opinion, to unite our whole forces against this warrior." . . .

The widespread rumour that the Abdali had come at the instigation of Mir Qasim to restore (4) the latter to the 'musnud' of Bengal served only to intensify the anxiety of the authorities at Calcutta, and they deemed it unwise "to remain inactive spectators of an invasion which threatened to overwhelm the political system of all India" (5).

The extreme eagerness of Shah Alam and Shujauddaulah for an immediate compromise with the Abdali made it all the more necessary to assure them of the determination of the English to oppose the alleged designs of the invader. It was naturally apprehended at Calcutta that if prompt measures were not taken for the defence of Oudh and Bengal, the King and the Vazir could easily be prevailed upon to join the Abdali against the English. That such an apprehension was not entirely fanciful would be apparent from the fact that the Governor received at this time definite information to the effect that the ultimate views of the conqueror extended beyond

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(1) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 33A.

(2) *Ibid*, No. 15A.

(3) Beng. Sel. Com., Jan. 16, 1767.

(4) Orig. R. 1764-69, Nos. 13 and 42.

Col. Smith too had previously written to Clive on Dec. 20, 1766. "From several quarters I have intelligence that Cassim Ally Cawn by some advances of money and larger promises has much contributed to Abdalla's irruption". (*Vide* Beng. Sel. Com., March 27, 1767).

(5) Sel. Com. to Court, April 10, 1767.

Delhi, and that induced either by the intrigues of Mir Qasim, or tempted by the opulence of Bengal, he would endeavour to attack Bengal and possess himself of this province (6).

The Vazir was particularly nervous, as he expected a secret understanding between the Abdali and the Rohillas (7), and was therefore anxious to be sure of English protection. The Vazir's irresolute and doubtful attitude made Sir Robert Barker almost suspicious as to his intentions (8). As for the king, he was so panic-stricken that he planned to send away (9) his family from Allahabad to a neighbouring fort belonging to Raja Beji Singh of Manikpur, and made overtures to the Marathas for an alliance against the common foe (10). The Governor therefore repeatedly asked them not to entertain feelings of distrust towards the English and promised to defend their dominions at all costs (11).

The Select Committee while formulating a comprehensive plan of defence (12) had to consider at the very outset whether the English troops should be sent beyond the Karamnasa immediately. By the second article of the late treaty executed with the King and the Vazir the English had engaged to assist them in repelling every attack upon their dominions with all their forces as far, however, as might be consistent with their own safety. It was noted by the Committee that under this last proviso the English troops could be confined within the limits of the Bihar frontier without breach of engagements. In fact, Clive in his parting letter to the Select Committee had expressly asked the members to fight the Abdali, when called upon to do so, "on this side the Soan, as near the Ganges as possible" (13). Verelst, however, was opposed to such a cautious policy. He asked the Committee to consider what effect such a resolution might produce on the attitude of the allies, and what degree of strength the enemy might derive from "these allies inflamed with resentment at finding themselves deserted at so critical an occasion". He evidently believed not without reason that extreme caution and inactivity at this juncture might alienate the King and the Vazir, and force them to join the enemy. Eventually the Committee at its meeting held on February 23 rejected the "narrow and selfish policy" of confining the military operations within the limits of the Karamnasa, and decided to concentrate troops at Sheorajpur (14) to convince the King and the Vazir of "the religious regard we have to treaties, and of our resolution to support our allies" (15).

(6) Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 19, 1767.

(7) Trans. R. 1767-68, Nos. 20 and 23.

(8) Beng. Sel. Com., March 24, 1767. Sir Robert Barker wrote, "However the Nabob Shujahul Doulah may now appear, I must suppose that he will join him also".

(9) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 60.

(10) Trans. R. 1767-68, Nos. 76, 76A, and 76B.

(11) Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 48 and 55.

(12) Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 23, 1767.

(13) Beng. Sel. Com., Jan. 16, 1767.

(14) . . . "near the confines of the Corah province". . . (Beng. Sel. Com., March 27, 1767).

(15) Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 23, 1767.

The following plan of operations was finally agreed upon by the Committee :—

1. The Commanding Officer of the third Brigade was to be immediately ordered to despatch five battalions of sepoys with six pieces to occupy the most convenient post at Sheorajpur.

2. The second Brigade in case of the Abdali's advance was to be ordered to encamp on the most convenient ground between Mirzapur and Chunar.

3. The remainder of the third Brigade was in that case to be ordered to proceed to Sheorajpur.

4. The first Brigade was to be simultaneously moved to Bankipur.

5. Only a battalion of sepoys was to be left at Monghyr.

6. In case the Abdali advanced further, the second Brigade was likewise to be ordered to march to Sheorajpur and join the third Brigade.

7. Orders were at the same time to be issued for the first Brigade to march from Bankipur, and occupy the most convenient posts in the vicinity of the Karamnasa.

8. In case of attack on the allies the army at Sheorajpur was to be reinforced by the grenadiers of all the Brigades and the M'argana Battalions.

9. The first Brigade was not to be considerably weakened as it was to remain as a frontier guard to cover the provinces against the attack of any detachment from the enemy's main army.

10. Col. Smith was immediately to take charge of the army on the frontier and direct the aforesaid operations.

Lest there should be any delay in the enforcement of these precautionary measures, the Committee resolved (16) to write to Sir Robert Barker, "We think it advisable to form a camp at Serajapur in order to signify to our allies our determined resolution to protect them against every attempt on their dominions. You are therefore hereby directed to detach five battalions of sepoys and six field pieces from the third Brigade to occupy the lines at Serajapur, and we leave it to you either to take command of the detachment, or to remain with the Brigade as you shall think necessary to the service."

In the meanwhile, alarming news of the Abdali's progress began to reach Calcutta. Sir Robert Barker reported (17) early in March that the Abdali had already written circular letters to the different chiefs directing them to wait on him with men and money on his approach to Delhi, and that the Vazir, was anxious to know definitely what attitude the English were going to adopt towards the invader. Muniruddaulah, the King's minister, informed the Governor that all the powers of Hindustan had sent '*arzis*' to the Abdali, and asked whether the King could be permitted to do the same (18). The

(16) Beng. Sel. Com., March 3, 1767.

(17) Letter from Sir Robert Barker, March 12, 1767.

(18) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 103.

Governor in consequence repeatedly advised the King and the Vazier not to write '*arzis*' to the Abdali, or send him any '*peshkash*'. He assured Muniruddaulah, "When the enemy see us united and prepared for war, they will be afraid to make war upon us" (19). In a subsequent letter (20) he again reminded the latter, "As the English are living under the shadow of His Majesty Shah Alam, and owe allegiance to no other King, the Shah will be afraid to demand money from us, or devastate our country. If, however, he is bent on doing mischief, the victorious English army will, according to the treaty, march immediately to defend the dominions of His Majesty and the Vazir." To the Vazir also the Governor similarly (21) sent re-assuring letters in one of which he solemnly affirmed that as long as he was alive, or there was a single Englishman in India, the Vazir would not be denied assistance !

The Select Committee had at first thought that the English troops then available in Bengal were sufficient for the defence of the province, but Col. Smith took a serious view of the situation, and warned (22) the Committee at its meeting of March 27, "We appear very formidable on paper, but it is incumbent on me to observe that the sepoys of the three Brigades are only 18 battalions ; that from this number we must furnish garrisons for Monghyr, Chunar and Allahabad, and therefore the whole force of sepoys which I shall have for the service of the field will not exceed 15 battalions . . . . Our army is composed entirely of infantry and artillery and the enemy will have such a body of horse that if the Shah makes a proper use of them he may harrass us beyond measure." Col. Smith therefore proposed that an additional detachment should be promptly requisitioned from Madras for reinforcing the Bengal army.

Alarmed at such a grave warning the Committee immediately wrote to the Madras authorities asking for a detachment of European troops (23). It was also decided to sound the neighbouring powers like the Marathas, the Jats, and the Rohillas for the purpose of raising a united confederacy against the enemy, as Col. Smith urged, ". . . all those who are not our friends must be our enemies." Letters were hastily despatched by the Governor to Raghunath Rao (24), Hafiz Rahmat Khan (25), Dundi Khan (26), and others asking them to unite with the English against the Abdali. The Vazir was requested to send trusty agents to the Jat Chief, Javahir Singh, and to the Rohillas with letters representing the urgent need of concerted action against the common enemy (27).

(19) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 73.

(20) Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 88.

(21) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 94.

(22) Beng. Sel. Com., March 27, 1767. (*Vide* : Col. Smith's minute.)

(23) Letter to the President and Council of Fort St. George in the Secret Department, March 27, 1767.

(24) Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 97. Beng. Sel. Com. March 27, 1767.

(25) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 96.

(26) Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 98. Beng. Sel. Com. March 27, 1767.

(27) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 94.

From the Vazir's correspondence with the Governor during this period it appears that he was not only not in favour of any alliance with the Rohillas, but he actually proposed hostilities against them. The Vazir had all along suspected that the Rohillas were anxious to join (28) the Shah, and when he found that they had already sent their 'Vakils' to the latter, and had assumed a haughty attitude in their recent correspondence, he pressed for immediate punitive operations against them, lest they should all unite with the invader. The Vazir reminded (29) the Governor of the old adage, "The mouth of a spring may be stopped by a single needle, while the stream which may flow from it can not be crossed on an elephant."

Verelst was, however, not inclined to allow the Vazir to be entangled in a campaign against the Rohillas at a time when the very safety of Bengal was threatened. He politely informed the Vazir that (30) a war with the Rohillas at the present moment was most inadvisable, for, in the first place, the Vazir's own troops were not adequate for the purpose, in the second place, such a venture should not be undertaken without concluding beforehand an alliance with the Marathas, in the third place, necessary assistance could not be afforded by the English as their troops might be engaged elsewhere, and in the last place, as Verelst pointed out, "Should we attack the Rohillas, they may prevail upon the Shah to invade His Excellency's territory from the north, and as his army is not strong enough to oppose the Shah's, His Excellency's territory would be subjected to plunder and rapine."

The King's wavering attitude was another cause of worry to Verelst. At one time the former conferred (31) with the Vazir about the measures of common defence, while at another time he was eager for coming to terms (32) with the Shah. Once the King even suggested to Sir Robert Barker that the best thing for the English would be to leave Allahabad and fall back upon Patna (33). This obliged the Governor to write a strongly worded note to the King on March 27 expressing his annoyance (34) at the presence of self-interested men in the Court, who advocated a policy of negotiation with the invader. He urged, "If he is not coming this way, negotiation is unnecessary, but if he is, he will not be satisfied until he gets a '*peshkash*', and to offer gold to a man who wrongfully invades this country is equally dishonourable for His Majesty and his faithful allies, the English" (35).

Verelst had so far hoped that the Shah had no real intention to march against Bengal, but when it was reported by Najibuddaulah that the Abdali

(28) Muniruddaulah also wrote "The Rohilla chiefs are making preparations to join the Shah." Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 164.

(29) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 153.

(30) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 108.

Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 110.

(31) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 137.

(32) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 141.

(33) Abs. R. 1767-71, p. 8.

(34) Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 102.

(35) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 103.

meant to stay (36) two or three years in Hindustan, the Select Committee could no longer ignore the danger of war. At its meeting held on March 27, the Committee agreed (37) on the recommendation of Col. Smith to order the second Brigade to march at once to Allahabad. The European soldiers were, however, to remain encamped on the banks of the Jumna or the Ganges during the approaching hot weather, instead of proceeding to Sheorajpur. The first Brigade was also directed to march to Bankipur. The Committee, it is interesting to note, resolved also to authorise Col. Smith to raise "a body of Mogul horse." The Governor was asked to urge upon the King and the Vazir the necessity of an urgent increase in the strength of their own cavalry. Verelst, it may here be pointed out, had already informally advised the Vazir to raise the number of his cavalry in a letter (38) dated March 24, which runs as follows, "Notwithstanding the superiority which discipline gives them (the English), as the English forces consist entirely of infantry, and those of the Shah entirely of cavalry, a great disadvantage is liable to arise, for it would be impossible to pursue the enemy after they are defeated. It is therefore necessary that His Excellency should raise a formidable body of cavalry" (39).

From the detailed instructions given by the Select Committee to Col. Smith on the eve of the latter's departure for Allahabad, an idea can be formed of the various considerations which actuated the frontier policy of the English during this period. In the first place, the Select Committee had decided to form an advanced outpost at Sheorajpur, and had ordered the second Brigade to March to Allahabad primarily to deter the invader from advancing towards Bengal by a show of force. In the second place, the Committee desired to form "a league and general confederacy" of the country powers like the Marathas, the Rohillas, and the Jats merely as a precautionary measure (40). In the third place, the Committee did not like to send the English troops beyond Sheorajpur, for "to proceed further would only be extending the frontier we are to defend, which we have already enlarged." In the fourth place, the Committee chose to expedite the movement of its own troops beyond the Karamnasa, as it refused to rely on "the feeble assistance" of the King and the Vazir. In the fifth place, the Committee was determined to prevent the Vazir from moving towards the Rohilla country, lest the latter's advance should precipitate a rupture with the Abdali. In the sixth place, the Committee would not allow the King to fall into the hands of the Shah, and sought to prevent his escape from Allahabad by all possible means.

(36) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 140-A.

Shah Wali Khan also wrote to Jagat Roy, "It is the determination of the Shah this year to make a stay of some duration in Hindustan and undertake the regulation of the country." (Abs. R. 1767-71, p. 35.)

(37) Beng. Sel. Com., March 27, 1767.

(38) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 94.

(39) Apparently in accordance with this advice the Vazir levied according to Dow, twelve thousand horse "upon a better footing than is generally practised in Hindustan." Dow's History of Hindostan, II, p. 357.

(40) The Vazir had urged the necessity of a confederacy in the following words, "We may stop the current while it is small, but when increased by many rivers the torrent must force all opposition. (Beng. Sel. Com., March 24, 1767).

Col. Smith was thus particularly instructed, "We earnestly recommend that you will keep the strictest eye upon the conduct of his Majesty." Lastly, the Committee was reluctant to order the first Brigade to march beyond the Karamnasa, lest the safety of Bengal should be jeopardised thereby.

Early in April, Muqim Beg, an Afghan envoy, was reported (41) by a Rohilla Chief to be coming with letters for Clive (42) from the Abdali and his Minister Shah Vali Khan. On April 8, the letters were received by Verelst. The Shah's letter was, as the Select Committee informed the Madras Government, "couched in dark and ambiguous, but rather minatory terms" (43). The Abdali pointed out in the course of his letter (44) that God had granted him great fortune, that the people of Hindustan had paid him homage, and that great and small everywhere obeyed his high commands. He was therefore surprised that no 'arzi' had been sent to him from Calcutta. If the Governor had any desire to tender his services to him, he should do so, and if he had no such desire, he should represent that also, so that "right being separated from wrong" be right fully understood "the true state of Things"! Verelst sent an equally diplomatic reply reminding the Shah that the English were so strong that they had nothing to apprehend for themselves, but that they would always tender their services in everything whereby the glory of the Shah, the welfare of their lawful sovereign and the tranquillity of the Empire might be advanced (45). Verelst could easily adopt a strong attitude, as by this time news had been received that the Abdali was about to go back (46) to his country. It was reported (47) at this time by Shitab Rai and Sir Robert Barker that Najibuddaulah had settled the 'peshkash' for the Abdali at 25 lakhs of rupees to be subscribed by the various chiefs, although, as Sir Robert Barker wrote, . . . "not a cowry is demanded either from the King, Shujah, or any other surdars under our protection."

The news of the Abdali's departure was soon found to be incorrect, as the latter continued his operations against the Sikhs till the end of summer. In May, Najibuddaulah informed (48) the King that the Abdali had resolved to postpone his departure in order to punish his enemies, and requested him therefore to send whatever money he could spare to the Shah. The Vazir was also similarly asked by Najibuddaulah to offer his 'peshkash' without delay. Under instructions from the Governor, both the King and the Vazir expressed their inability to send any money on the plea (49) of "straitened circumstances". The King wrote to Najibuddaulah that his annual receipts did not exceed forty lakhs of rupees, and his expenses were no less than sixty five

(41) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 186.

(42) Evidently the Abdali was not aware of Clive's departure from Bengal.

(43) Beng. Sel. Com., April 30, 1767.

(44) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 187.

(45) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 127.

(46) Letter from Sir Robert Barker to Col. Smith, March 25, 1767.

(47) Beng. Sel. Com., April 9, 1767. Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 183. Letter from Sel. Com. to Court, April 10, 1767.

(48) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 251.

(49) Trans. R. 1767-68, Nos. 252, 253.



lakhs of rupees, hence, he added, he was ashamed to confess his inability to spare any money for the Shah. The Vazir too sent a similar reply on the plea of his various "financial troubles and other misfortunes." Repeated demands of money from Najibuddaulah made the Vazir extremely nervous, and early in June he wrote a frantic letter to the Governor praying for protection as well as a definite plan of action against the Shah. He lamented that his own army was weak and ill-equipped, and that he had no fortress or asylum where he could send his family in times of danger (50). His serious illness (51) during the rains aggravated his growing anxiety, but fortunately the danger from the Abdali disappeared in September when the latter left (52) India after prolonged and futile operations against the Sikhs (53).

During the period of the Abdali's stay in India the chief cause of alarm and anxiety to Verelst was the alleged intrigue of Mir Qasim with the invader. It was openly talked about that the Abdali had invaded India at Mir Qasim's invitation, and that the latter's 'vakils' were constantly in attendance (54) upon the Shah. Verelst therefore endeavoured to have Mir Qasim captured. In fact, Clive too had announced a reward for his arrest (55). The Vazir was asked by Verelst more than once to seize "that troublous fellow, Mir Qasim, (56) in any way possible. At first the Vazir had agreed to co-operate in the capture of "that villain Qasim," (57) but later on he probably realised that it was impossible to seize him without provoking the Shah and the Rohillas, and confessed his inability to employ his own troops for this purpose on the plea that "it would be considered in an evil light by the world" (58). Early in March it was reported that Mir Qasim's 'Vakil' had offered ten lakhs of rupees to the Shah on behalf of his master, (59) and towards the end of the month, Dundi Khan, a Rohilla chief, rather imperiously demanded a fixed allowance for Mir Qasim's maintenance threatening trouble for Bengal, if the matter was not speedily settled (60). In April, the Governor was informed by Muniruddaulah that "that pest of mankind," Mir Qasim, was now with the Shah, and was "hatching schemes" (61) to overthrow the empire of Hindustan! In May, the Vazir informed the Governor that a 'vakil' of Mir Qasim was now on his way to the Shah's army to negotiate matters for his master (62).

(50) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 269.

(51) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 313. Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 182.

(52) Trans. R. 1767-68, Nos. 313, 368.

(53) For details see Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* II, pp. 496-501.

(54) Mir Qasim's Vakil presented '*arzis*' to the Shah and his minister regularly once in the week. (Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 76C).

(55) Cop. I. 1766-67, No. 52.

(56) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 20. Trans. I. 1766-67, No. 48.

(57) Abs. R. 1767-71, p. 29.

(58) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 117.

(59) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 141.

(60) Abs. R. 1767-71, p. 4.

(61) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 164.

(62) Trans. R. 1767-68, No. 254.

All attempts of the fugitive Nawab to secure the Shah's support failed in the end, and the danger to Bengal from his machinations thus disappeared. The Abdali eventually set his face against his overtures, and rudely dismissed his 'Vakil' before his departure from India. Though the Abdali's invasion had been primarily prompted by the desire for plunder, it was without doubt undertaken with the ostensible object of punishing the infidels like the Sikhs, the Jats, and particularly the English who were represented to have overthrown a Muslim ruler of Bengal. It is, however, easy to account for his ultimate abandonment of Mir Qasim's cause. In the first place, the Shah found on his appearance in India that the Sikhs had grown too formidable and troublecome to be easily subdued; while without subduing them thoroughly it was obviously not safe for him to leave the Punjab and undertaken a distant expedition. In the second place, the Abdali had been led to expect that the Vazir, the most powerful Muslim prince in Hindustan, would join him in a crusade against the English, but he was disappointed at the latter's refusal to break with the English. In the third place, being hard pressed for money himself, Mir Qasim was not in a position to render sufficient financial help to the Shah. In the fourth place, the Abdali received a poor response from other princes as well, and the total amount of '*peshkash*' offered to him was barely sufficient for the maintenance of his big army. In the fifth place, the Abdali was further deterred from his purpose by his anticipation of a powerful confederacy against himself. Lastly, the Shah appears also to have been so disgusted with Mir Qasim's artful declarations that he once actually called him a liar! Evidently, the Shah was not prepared to be befooled by a fugitive adventurer into a hazardous enterprise without dependable allies, or a reasonable prospect of success.

It is easy to ridicule (64) the hasty preparations that Verelst and the Select Committee had considered necessary on the approach of the Abdali. It must not, however, be forgotten that if the latter had only succeeded in his efforts to gain the alliance of the country powers, it is doubtful whether he would have refused to espouse the cause of "an oppressed, fugitive, and homeless" Nawab in furtherance of his ulterior designs of conquest and plunder. Verelst was thus hardly unjustified in taking prompt and forward measures in view of the alleged secret alliance between the Shah and Mir Qasim.

Ahmad Shah invaded India once again during Verelst's regime in the winter of 1768-9, as is clear from the contemporary English records. It may be incidentally pointed out here that it has been usually believed by historians so far that the last invasion of the Abdali took place in 1767 (65).

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(63) Abs. R. 1767-71, p. 23.

(64) Clive wrote to Verelst from England on Nov. 7, 1767, "The sooner you confine the whole of our force within the boundary of the Caramnassa the better. The Abdally's invasion of Bengal must be a mere bugbear. So long a march is next to impossible; therefore I think he will never attempt it."

(65) Vide: Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. II, 496.

The earliest information of the Abdali's decision to invade India during the coming winter was received by the Governor in July, 1768 (66). Sir Robert Barker sent from Allahabad a paper of intelligence, containing the ominous report, "The Shaw promises to march towards Hindustan at the commencement of the cold season" (67). On October 24, the members of the deputation to the King and the Vazir reported in their letter to the Governor that the Abdali was again invading India, and had actually arrived on the banks of the Attock. The details of the Shah's further progress are not available, but from the Select Committee Proceedings it appears that on February 25, 1769, Col. Smith reported from Fyzabad, "I learn that the Abdalla has arrived at Lahore" (68).

This invasion does not seem to have caused that degree of anxiety which the previous expedition had done. Apparently the Governor knew that after his experience in 1767 the Abdali would not seriously think of going beyond the Punjab. This is why Verelst not only took no serious notice of the Abdali's movements on this occasion, but he wrote to Col. Smith on March 14 asking him to inform the Vazir that no heed should be paid to the approach of the Shah unless the safety of Oudh was actually threatened (69). Verelst, however, subsequently directed (70) Col. Smith to procure the earliest intelligence of the Abdali's "motions and designs" when he was informed by Col. Smith that the Abdali was said to be encamped on the banks of the Chenab (71).

As foreseen by the Governor, Ahmed Shah remained busy in the Punjab during the short period that he was in India. In fact, it appears that he could not go beyond the Jhelum (72). Dissensions among his followers (73) and the mutiny of a part of his army compelled him to go back (74) to his country "in a miserable plight" (75). Early in April Verelst was relieved to hear from Col. Smith, "The Abdalla appears to be upon his route back towards the Attock . . . . the danger is over for this season" (76). It is interesting to note that the Vazir who had at first been mistrustful of the Abdali exulted at the latter's precipitous retirement, and wrote to the Governor with ill-concealed glee, "The Shah Abdallah has made an inglorious retreat" (77). This was the last of the Abdali invasions in India. The prolonged fight with the militant Sikhs without any support from the country powers must have

(66) Beng. Sel. Com. July 20, 1768.

(67) Letter from Sir Robert Barker, June 7, 1768.

(68) Ben. Sel. Com. March 14, 1769.

(69) Sel. Com. to Col. R. Smith, March 14, 1769.

(70) Beng. Sel. Com., March 21, 1769.

(71) Letter from Col. R. Smith, March 9, 1769.

(72) Cop. R. 1769, No. 53.

(73) Ben. Sel. Com. April, 21, 1769.

(74) Verelst to Sel. Com., Dec. 16, 1769.

(75) Trans. R. 1769, No. 98.

(76) Letter from Col. R. Smith, March 19, 1769.

(77) Beng. Sel. Com., May 19, 1769. Cop. R. 1769, No. 16.

at last convinced the war-worn invader of the futility of any further campaigning in this country.

Notwithstanding the eventual disappearance of the Abdali menace, Verelst considered it necessary to safeguard the western frontier of Bengal in the interests of permanent security. He considered Allahabad to be "the key of the surrounding territories," (78) and was reluctant to withdraw the English troops from that place, although the Directors continued to insist on this. In 1768, they peremptorily ordered the recall of all troops from Allahabad, and reminded the Governor and the Select Committee, "As all over views and expectations are confined within the Caramnassa, we are impatient to hear our troops are recalled from Allahabad" (79). Verelst, however, advanced sound reasons (80) for making Allahabad an advanced outpost for the defence of Bengal. Firstly, he considered the English troops at Allahabad to be a necessary check on the Vazir. Secondly, for the protection of the King too it was equally necessary to station a strong force with him. Thirdly, it was essential to maintain an army at Allahabad for guarding against unforeseen irruptions and dangers. Fourthly, from Allahabad the English troops could easily make a diversion against the Marathas whenever necessary for the support of Madras. Fifthly, to enforce the recent treaty with the Vazir it was advisable to keep a force at Allahabad as a precautionary measure. Lastly, the retention of an army at Allahabad was also necessary for holding, in Verelst's own words, "the general balance of Hindostan" (81).

Chunar was the next strategic point which Verelst deemed it essential to control for the immediate safety of Bengal. It commanded the main entrance into this province from the North-west, hence a strong English garrison was kept in the Chunar Fort throughout Verelst's regime in spite of the Vazir's persistent opposition (82). The Vazir strongly objected to the occupation of the fort by the Company's troops on four grounds (83). In the first place, he urged that he had originally agreed in Clive's time to allow only two English 'pahras' at the fort for guarding the Company's grain stored in it, and that as the grain was no longer there the 'pahras' should now be recalled. In the second place, he reminded the Governor of the assurance given by the members of the deputation to him that the garrison would be withdrawn along with the other English troops in Oudh after the danger from the Abdali was over, and complained, "At present the troops have been recalled, but the

(78) Verelst to Court, March 28, 1768.

"Its situation makes it, in some measure, the key of the surrounding territories; and its vicinity to the several countries of Shuja-u-doula, the Rohillas, Jats, and Mahrattas, enables us to penetrate their views with more certainty; and in case of necessity, to enter any part with our army in ten or fifteen days, where we can have either an ally to support, or an enemy to punish. It is for these reasons, we have been obliged to retain a brigade out of the provinces."

(79) Letter from Court, March 16, 1768.

(80) Letter to Court, April 6, 1769.

(81) Verelst to Court, March 28, 1768.

(82) Cop. R. 1769, No. 64.

(83) Trans. R. 1769, No. 107.

'*pahras*' are still there as before." In the third place, he protested against the gradual increase of the English (84) garrison, and represented, "Formerly there were two *pahras* at Chunargarh, now two companies have been stationed there". Lastly, he complained that on account of the presence of the English troops great disorder prevailed there. On August 16, 1769, Verelst wrote a long letter (85) to the Vazir, dilating on the necessity of keeping the English garrison at Chunar so long as two battalions continued to stay at Allahabad in deference to the repeated demands of the King. The Governor diplomatically pointed out that when the interests of the two parties were common, the retention of a few men in the fort under pressure of necessity should not displease His Excellency, and interrupt the goodwill subsisting between him and the English.

Verelst valued (86) Chunar not only for its obvious strategic importance, but also for the fact that the fort was "a necessary pledge" of the Vazir's fidelity (87). The garrison at Chunar was considerably reinforced during 1767-8 (88) when there was a grave misunderstanding with the Vazir owing to the sudden increase of his army. Verelst, however, never insisted on the total exclusion of the Vazir's men from the fort, lest it should provoke an open estrangement with the Vazir. For this negligence the Governor and the Select Committee were censured by the Directors in their general letter of November 11, 1768 (89). The Directors wrote, "we can not omit expressing our displeasure that you should have relaxed from that necessary precaution so strongly recommended by Lord Clive of garrisoning Chunargur by suffering Suja Dowla to introduce troops sufficient to have possessed himself of the place" (90). It may here be pointed out in fairness to Verelst that the Directors unknowingly exaggerated his negligence, for with the increase of the English garrison an effective command of the fort had certainly been secured (91). The small contingent belonging to the Vazir was hardly a source of danger, and was allowed to remain merely out of regard for the latter's wounded vanity.

While engaged in providing for the defence of Bengal against "unforeseen dangers and sudden irruptions," Verelst found that the Company's military establishment needed considerable reinforcement (92). He asked the Directors

(84) *Vide* also letter from Capt. G. Harper, to Col. R. Smith, July 10, 1769, on the subject of the Vazir's complaint regarding the increase of the garrison. (Beng. Sel. Com. Aug. 3, 1769).

(85) Cop. I. 1769-70, No. 58.

(86) Beng. Sel. Com., Feb. 5, 1767.

(87) Sel. Com. to Court, Feb. 19, 1767.

(88) Beng. Sel. Com. No. 17, Dec. 11, 1767, March 2, August 10, 1768.

(89) Letter from Court, Nov. 11, 1768.

(90) For Clive's opinion *vide* his farewell minute (Beng. Sel. Com. 16, 1767). Clive had thus advised the Committee: "As the possession of a fort will most effectually secure us against treachery, we must never fail to insist upon it in the most strong and positive terms."

(91) Messrs. Cartier, Smith, and Russell wrote from Allahabad on Jan. 7, 1769, ". . . in the present situation of affairs, we are in fact equally masters of both places (i.e. Chunar and Allahabad) . . . ."

(92) Sel. Com. to Court, April 10, 1767.

in vain to sanction at least the strength proposed by Clive (93). He pressed also for a substantial increase of the Cavalry in view of the danger from the Abdali, and authorized the recruitment of four regiments of horse as Col. Smith had more than once represented to the Select Committee, "You have only three hundred horse in your pay, a number by no means sufficient . . ." (94). The Directors, however, paid no heed to such representations, and expressed their displeasure at the increase of military expenditure. Verelst wanted to improve the Pargana battalions which he considered "scarce half-armed," (95) but in this also he received no support from the Directors.

Verelst's frontier policy was ultimately founded on the basic principle of balance of power. While he was opposed to the extension of the frontier "beyond the circle of the Nabob's dominions", he was not in favour of remaining an unconcerned spectator of any serious political turmoils in Hindustan. He believed that security lay not in a policy of blind inactivity, but in the maintenance of a balance of power among the neighbouring powers. He pointed out to the Directors soon after his assumption of office, "policy requires we should hold ourselves in constant readiness to oppose every attempt to destroy that equality and balance of power among the princes of the empire, in which consists our greatest security" (96). Verelst held it was easy "to hold the general balance of Hindustan" on account of the weakness no less than "the discordancy of the principles, views, and interests of the neighbouring powers" (97).

NANDALAL CHATTERJEE.

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(93) *Ibid.* "Complete your military establishment in the manner proposed by Lord Clive."

(94) Sel. Com. to Court, April 10, 1768.

(95) Sel. Com. to Court, April 10, 1767.

(96) *Ibid.*

(97) Verelst to Court, March 28, 1768.

# Studies in the Early Governmental System of the Company in Bengal (1765-74).

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## III

### CIVIL SERVICE—*Continued.*

#### SOCIETY OR COMMITTEE OF TRADE.

WE shall now say, in connexion with the question of the Indian trade, a few words regarding the Society or Committee of Trade (1) which was first instituted in 1765. Briefly speaking, it originated in the following circumstances.

We have seen before (2) that the Court of Directors in its General Letter (3) to Bengal, dated 8th February, 1764, directed that from the receipt of the said letter "a final and effectual end be forthwith put to the Inland Trade in Salt, Beetlenut (*sic*), Tobacco, and in all other Articles whatsoever produced and consumed in the country, and that all European and other Agents or Gomastahs who have been concerned in such Trade be immediately order'd down to Calcutta and not suffered to return or be replaced as such by any other Persons ;" and that it reiterated this direction in its General Letter (4) to Bengal of 22nd February, 1764. Further, in this (5) second General Letter it "gave a general and positive order against every kind of Monopoly in Trade". (6) We have also seen (7) that Clive, while indicating his accep-

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(1) Apart from the contemporary, relevant manuscript documents, a good deal of information regarding the Society of Trade may be had from—

(a) the Fourth Report from the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to enquire into the Nature, State, and Condition of the East India Company and of the British Affairs in the East Indies, dated 21st April, 1773.

(b) Verelst, *A View of the English Government in Bengal*, 1772 Chapter IV.

(c) William Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, Chapter XIII.

(d) Lord Clive's Speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772, in *The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the year 1803*, Vol. XVII, 1771-1774. London, Printed by T. C. Hansard, 1813.

(2) See *Bengal: Past & Present*, January-June, 1938, p. 110.

(3) Para 21.

(4) Para 110.

(5) I.e. the General Letter to Bengal of 22nd February, 1764.

(6) See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

The Court stated in this General Letter to Bengal (22nd February, 1774): "It is our positive Orders, that you take Care to prevent every Kind of Monopoly; and if you find any Person or Persons guilty of such unfair Practices, he or they are to be forthwith dismissed from the Company's Service".—See *ibid*, App. No. 1.

(7) See *Bengal: Past & Present*, January-June, 1938, p. 111.

tance of the office of Governor of Bengal for the second time, recommended the prohibition of the trade of the Company's servants in salt, betelnut and tobacco, in his letter to the Court, dated at Berkley Square 27th April, 1764. The intended restrictions, however, writes Mr. Verelst, (8) "did not take effect; for many active proprietors, when the affair was considered in a general Court, strongly urged the continuance of this indulgence, under some limitations, to the servants, who would otherwise be deprived of a decent subsistence abroad; much less could they ever hope to revisit their native country with such independent fortunes as reason and justice equally authorised them to expect". These sentiments generally prevailed, and the Court of Proprietors ultimately (9) adopted the following resolution at a meeting held on 18th May, 1764:—

"Resolved, that it be recommended to the Court of Directors, to reconsider the orders sent to Bengal, relative to the trade of the Company's servants, in the articles of salt, betelnut, and tobacco; and that they do give such directions for regulating the same, agreeably to the interest of the Company and Subah, as to them may appear most prudent: either by settling here at home the restrictions under which this trade ought to be carried on, or by referring it to the governor and Council of Fort William to regulate this important point, in such a manner as may prevent all future disputes betwixt the Subah and the Company".

In view of this resolution of the General Court of Proprietors, the Court of Directors wrote (10) to the President and Council at Fort William on 1st June, 1764, that for the reasons given in its letter of 8th February, 1764, (11) it had been "induced to send positive order to put a Final and Effectual End to the Inland Trade in Salt, Beetle Nut, Tobacco and all other Articles whatsoever produced and consumed in this country". This order, the Court

(8) See Verelst, *A View of the English Government in Bengal*, 1772, page 107.

(9) The motion originally moved in the Court of Proprietors was: "That it be recommended to the Court of Directors to give Instruction to the Presidency of Bengal, to settle such Regulations in carrying on the Trade in Salt, Beetle Nut, and Tobacco, as shall prove most advantageous to this Company, without prejudicing the just Rights of the Nabob of the Provinces; and that such Regulations be transmitted Home to the Court of Directors by the first opportunity, with every Information which can enable them to determine on so important a subject."

"This motion", said Mr. William Sumner in the course of his evidence before a Parliamentary Committee, "implied a total suspension of at least Two Years of any Regulations; the forming a Plan in Bengal, which should be transferred to England for the Approbation of the Court of Directors before it was adopted, would have left this important Branch of Trade open so long, and it was evident such Delay would necessarily hazard further Disputes with the Country Government, which it was the earnest desire of the Court wholly to remove. The Motion was opposed, from a full Conviction of the bad Tendency of delaying the proposed Regulations, in which I joined with many intelligent Proprietors; it was in Consequence withdrawn, and the General Court" adopted the resolution given in the text.—See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773; also Verelst, *A View of the English Government in Bengal*, p. 107.

(10) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 1st June, 1764, para 54.

(11) See *Bengal: Past & Present*, January-June 1938, pp. 109-10.



stated, (12) was to remain in force "until a more equitable and satisfactory Plan" could be formed and adopted, which, however, it was impossible for it to frame from England "destitute" as it was "of the Information and Lights necessary" to guide it in settling such an important affair. It, therefore, wrote (13) to the President and Council:—

"You are therefore hereby ordered and directed as soon as after the Receipt of This as may be convenient to consult the Nabob as to the manner of Carrying on the Inland Trade in Salt, Beetle Nut, Tobacco, and the other Articles produced and consumed in the country which may be most to his satisfaction and advantageous to the Interest of the Company and likewise of the Company's servants".

Further, it directed (14) them "to form a proper and equitable Plan for carrying on the said Trade and transmit the same" to it, together with "such Explanations, observations and Remarks" as might enable it to give its "sentiments and Directions thereupon in a full and explicit manner". And in doing this, they were "to have a particular regard to the Interest and entire satisfaction of the Nabob both with respect to his Revenues, and the proper support of his Government". In short, this plan was ordered to be "settled with his Free will and Consent, and in such a manner as not to afford any just grounds for complaint".

The Court's letter of 1st June, 1764, embodying these orders arrived in Bengal on 24th January, (16) 1765. And at a Consultation held at Fort William on the next day, the Council decided (17) to postpone taking any action upon those orders as Lord Clive and the other members of the newly constituted Select Committee, namely, Messrs. William B. Sumner and Francis Sykes, who had accompanied him from England, were expected to arrive in Bengal soon.

The actual institution of the Society of Trade occurred at the meeting of the Select Committee held at Fort William on 10th August, 1765. The only members of the Select Committee present at the meeting were Messrs. William Sumner and Harry Verelst. Clive was "up the country at the time, employed in settling the treaty of peace with Suja ul Dowla, and obtaining from the Mogul, the grant of the Duannee". (18) The plan of the society "was framed

(12) Company's General Letter to Bengal, 1st June, 1764, para. 56.

(13) *Ibid.*, para 57.

(14) *Ibid.*, para 58.

(15) *Ibid.*, para 59.

(16) See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

(17) The exact language of the decision was:—

"We observe the Sentiments and Orders of the Court, on the subject of the Inland Trade, contained in the 54 and subsequent Paragraphs to the 64. But as Lord Clive, and the other Gentlemen, may be now so soon expected to arrive, it is agreed to defer, for the present at least, any further Proceedings thereon".—Consultation, Fort William, 25th January, 1765. See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773, app. 31.

(18) See Lord Clive's speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772.

principally by Mr. Sumner". (19) It appears, however, from a letter (20) of Clive addressed to the Court of Directors on 1st February, 1766, that it had been originally proposed by him "at sea" during his voyage to India.

Briefly speaking, under the plan of the Society of Trade which the Select Committee had framed at its meeting held on 10th August, 1765, and which it considered "the most correspondent to the Company's Orders, and conducive to the Ends" (21) which they had in view, the whole trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco was, in the first place, to be "carried on by an *exclusive Company* formed for that Purpose, and consisting of all those" who might be "deemed justly entitled to a share"; a "proper Fund" was to be raised, "by a Loan at Interest, for the Supply and support of the same"; and the Company was to commence its work in September, 1765, "or as soon after as may be found most convenient." (22)

Secondly, (23) "the salt, Beetle Nut, and Tobacco produced in, or imported into Bengal" was to be purchased by the abovementioned Company, and public advertisements were to be issued, strictly prohibiting all other persons whatsoever, who were dependent on the Company's Government, from dealing in those articles.

Thirdly, (24) an application was to be made to the Nawab requesting him "to issue the like Prohibition (25) to all his officers and Subjects of the

(19) See the *ibid.*

(20) Clive stated therein:—"Permit me, Gentlemen, to return you my most grateful Acknowledgements for the confidence you are pleased to repose in me, by the 40th Paragraph of your General Letter of the 15th of February 1765, in relation to the important Article of the Salt Trade; and though I hope my conduct in your service will intitle me to your approbation in every other Instance, I cannot but congratulate myself on the success of that particular Plan, since it was originally proposed by me, during my voyage to India".—From Clive's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Calcutta 1st February, 1766. See the Commons Report, 4th, 1773, app. 3.

(21) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 10th August, 1765.

(22) *Ibid.*

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) *Ibid.*

(25) It may be noted here that Mr. Summer had anticipated action. He told the Select Committee that he had desired Mr. Sykes, when he had last gone to Moorshedabad, to apply to the Nawab "for the necessary Purwannas for authorizing and facilitating this Trade" (in salt, betelnut and tobacco) and that he had "accordingly received from that Gentlemen (obviously Mr. Sykes), Perwannas to this Purpose, being 106 in Number". He presented those Purwannas to the Committee.—*Ibid.*

And we find in a letter of Mr. Francis Sykes, dated at Moraudbaug 28th July, 1765, addressed to "W. B. Summer Esq. & Gentlemen of the Select Committee" at Fort William:

"I now enclose you the Nabob's purwannas etc. amounting to 106, which will enable you immediately to enter upon the Contracts. . . . You will find that the Zemindars are entirely put under our authority and are to comply with such Regulations as you shall think proper to establish".—See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 10th August, 1765.

For translations of the copies of some of these Purwannas, see Bolts *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, Chapter XIII.

Bolts's remarks in connexion with these Purwannas are interesting:—

"So easy is our Nabob on such occasions, that we here see 106 grants or orders obtained on a simple application from one of the gentlemen of the Committee, before the regulations were adjusted". *Ibid.*, p. 169 (footnote).

Districts, where any Quantity of either of those Articles" was "manufactured or produced."

Fourthly, (26) the salt, betelnut, and tobacco, purchased by the said Company, was to be "transported to a certain Number of Places for Sale, to be there, and there only, disposed of by their Agents;" The country merchants might then become "the Purchasers, and again transport the Articles whither" they would think they would "have the greatest Prospect of Profit."

Fifthly, (27) a Committee of Trade was to be "appointed to receive the Management of this Plan, and prosecute the same in all its branches;" and further, for their assistance a person was to be appointed in the "Quality of their Secretary and Accomptant".

Referring to the plan as framed by it the Select Committee held that it would be found to be "a sufficient Ground Work for commencing" the trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco.(28) It might be improved later on as circumstances might "occur and direct". It was to be delivered to the Committee of Trade, as soon as the latter was constituted, for all such action as might be necessary to give effect to it. The Committee of Trade itself was to be composed of two members of the Select Committee and two members of the Council.(29)

Finally, the Select Committee agreed to "recommend to the Council to appoint Two of their Members to be joined with Two of the Committee, to constitute the Board (i.e., the Committee of Trade), and receive charge of the Plan; and at the same time to appoint a proper person to the office of Secretary and Accomptant".(30)

At a Consultation held at Fort William on 12th August, 1765, Mr. Sumner, the presiding Member, placed before the Council the abovementioned plan "as a Ground Work for carrying on the Trade" in salt, betelnut and tobacco in future.(31) After some preliminary objections had been raised by Messrs. Leycester and Gray on constitutional grounds (32), to the action taken

(26) Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 10th August, 1765.

(27) *Ibid.*

(28) *Ibid.*

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) *Ibid.*

(31) See the General Consultation, Fort William, 12th August, 1765. The Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773, App. 34.

(32) Mr. Leycester said: "I dissent to the Powers assumed by the Gentlemen of the Committee, of fixing any Regulations for the carrying on of the Inland Trade, independent of, and without consulting the Gentlemen of the Council, as it is a Power by no means delegated to them by the Court of Directors; who point out in very express Terms, that the only object of those Powers lodged with the Select Committee is the restoring of Peace and Tranquillity to the Provinces, then supposed in a very distracted state". He added, however, that it was "needless" for him then to give his "Sentiments of the Regulations themselves" as the Select Committee had already "determined on the Plan"; that, as it was on all occasions expedient for the members of the Council to unite in carrying on the public business, so he declared himself ready, notwithstanding his dissent, "to share any trouble that this System may occasion to the other Gentlemen of the Council, and to co-operate with

by the Select Committee, a Committee of Trade was constituted of four persons—Messrs Sumner and Verelst as Members of the Select Committee and Messrs Leycester and Gray as Members of the Council.(33) The Council next resolved to “address (34) those Gentlemen, constituting them the Committee accordingly, for the Management of this Trade, and transmitting them the Regulations of the Select Committee for their Government therein ; authorizing them, at the same time, to correspond with the subordinate Factories, and to pursue all such Measures as may, conformably to the Plan, appear to them eligible and proper”. It also decided (35) to “give the necessary Advice and Directions, in consequence, to the different Factories”. For example, it issued (36) the following circular letter to “Ascanius William Senior, Esquire, Chief, Council at Cossimbazar :—

“Gentleman,

We are to inform you, that we have now established certain Regulations for conducting the Inland Trade in the articles of Salt, Beetle Nut, and Tobacco, agreeably to orders received from the Court of Directors, and that the same are to be immediately carried into Execution by a Committee of Trade, consisting of Messieurs Sumner, Verelst, Leycester, and Gray, who are for that Purpose authorized to correspond with the several subordinate Factories, and to take all such Measures as may appear to them proper ; and We therefore direct that you do pay a due Regard to whatever Instructions you may from Time to Time receive from them, in Matters relative to this Trade, and address them accordingly in Return.

Fort William,  
The 12th August, 1765.”

We are, etc.,

The Select Committee resumed (37) “the consideration of the plan for carrying on the inland trade” (in salt, betelnut and tobacco) at a meeting held on 18th September, 1765, “in order to determine with respect to the Company and the classes of proprietors”. All the members (38) of the Committee were present at this meeting. In regard to the Company, the Committee held that it would be more to its interest “to be considered as

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my best Endeavours, that the intended Scheme may be carried into Execution with all the Benefits that can possibly result from it”.

Mr. Gray agreed in essence with Mr. Leycester in the latter's views in the constitutional aspect of the action taken by the Select Committee. But he also stated that notwithstanding his dissent, he would cheerfully “obey the Orders of the Board (i.e., the Council), in his appointment of a Member of the Committee of Trade”.—See the *ibid*.

(33) *Ibid*.

(34) *Ibid*.

(35) See *ibid*.

(36) See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773, App. 35.

(37) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 18th September, 1765.

(38) Namely, Lord Clive, W. B. Sumner, Brigadier General Camac, Mr. Harry Verelst, and Mr. Francis Sykes.—See the *ibid*.

superiors of this trade, and receive a handsome duty upon it than to be engaged as Proprietors in the stock". (39) And having regard "to the circumstances of the Companys being at the same time the head and masters of our service and now come into the place of the country government by his Majesty's royal grant of the Dewannee", the Committee agreed that the inland trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco should be "subject to a Duty to the Company after the following rates" (40):—

"On salt ... 35 P. cent valuing the 100 mds. at the rate of 9 A Rs. (41) and in consideration thereof the present Collaree Duty to be abolished.

On Betel nut ... 10 P. cent on the Prime cost.

On Tobacco ... 25 P. cent on Ditto".

The Committee expected that the Company would receive "a clear revenue of at least 100000 £ Str P Annum" from these duties. (42) The rates of duties might be increased if it should "appear upon further experience of the trade that the profits will admit of an increase" (43).

With respect to the question of the proprietors of the shares in the "Salt" Company, with which we are chiefly concerned here, the Select Committee resolved that they should be "arranged into three classes"; that each class should be "entitled to so many shares in the stock"; and that "a certain capital stock" should be "agreed upon in order to ascertain the value of each share" (44). The actual scheme of the distribution of shares among the different classes of the Company's servants, as agreed upon by the Committee, was as follows (45). Class one was to "consist of the governor—five shares—The second—three shares—the General—three shares—Ten gentlemen of Council each two shares—twenty shares—Two Colonels each two shares—four shares.

In all thirty five shares for the first class".

Class two was to "consist of one chaplain, fourteen Junior merchants and three Lieutenant Colonels". In all it was to consist of eighteen persons who would each be "entitled to one third of a Councillors proportion" or "two thirds of one share". This would make altogether "twelve shares for the second class" (46).

(39) See the *ibid.*

(40) See the *ibid.*

(41) Arcot rupees.

(42) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 18th September, 1765.

(43) See the *ibid.*

(44) See the *ibid.*

(45) See the *ibid.*

(46) So far as the second class was concerned, the Committee added:—

"We mean always to include in this number such junior merchants as the Company have thought proper to fix in the service who as well as the factors in the next class that may be restrained from rising as covenant servants shall however be entitled to their full share of the advantages of this trade".—See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 18th September, 1765.

Class three was to "consist of thirteen factors, four majors, four first surgeons at the Presidency, two first surgeons at the army, one Secretary to the Council, one sub-accountant, one Persian translator and one sub-export warehouse-keeper"—in all twenty-seven persons who would each be "entitled to one sixth of a councillors proportion or one third of one share" (47). This would make altogether "eight (48) shares for the third class".

The Select Committee thus "settled the arrangement of the classes and the shares in the stock", but it left to the Committee of Trade itself to ascertain the amount of the capital required, as it would be the most competent judge of what fund would be necessary (49). The Committee of Trade was also empowered to frame from time to time necessary bye-laws, which might be "enforced and carried into execution" after they had been "communicated to, approved and signed by the body of proprietors" (50).

Finally, the Select Committee ordered a copy of the above proceedings of its meeting "to be prepared and laid before the Council" for transmission by the latter to the Committee of Trade, together with its own directions (51).

Accordingly, the proceedings of the meeting of the Select Committee held on 18th September, 1765, were placed before the Council on 25th September.

(47) No writer had a share in the Society of Trade. "All the Company's servants except writers, and also all the field officers of the army had shares, according to their respective rank".—From Clive's speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772.

(48) The figure "eight" seems to be an obvious error. It should have been "nine".

As a matter of fact, however, class three was, according to Mr. William Bolts, afterwards "made to consist of twenty-eight persons, at one third of a share each, making in all nine shares and one third".—See Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, p. 172 (Footnote).

(49) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 18th September, 1765.

According to Clive's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Calcutta 1st February, 1766, the capital of the Society was originally 24 lakhs of rupees; it was however to be speedily raised to 32 lakhs.

According to William Bolts, the original capital of the Salt Society was current rupees 2422333-5-4.—See Bolts, *Consideration of India Affairs*, p. 175.

This amount was "divided into 56½ shares of 43,000 current rupees each share" as shown below :—

	Persons.	Shares each.	Total shares.	Capital stock.
"To the Right Hon. L. Clive ...	1	5	5	2,15,000
William Brightwell Sumner, Esquire ...	1	3	3	1,29,000
General Carnac ...	1	3	3	1,29,000
To ten Councillors and two Colonels ...	12	2	24	10,32,000
				15,05,000-0-0
To Chaplain, Senior and Junior Merchants, and Lieutenant Colonels ...	18	½	12	5,16,000-0-0
To Factors, Majors, and Surgeons ...	28	½	9½	4,01,333-5-4
Persons ...	61		56½ Cr.	Rs. 24,22,333-5-4

See William Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, p. 175.

(50) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 18th September, 1765.

(51) See the *ibid.*

1765, and the Council transmitted them to the Committee of Trade, "with Instructions to proceed agreeably thereto" (52).

It may also be noted here that as a result of a representation by the Committee of Trade, dated 11th September, 1765, a deed was executed, (53) by the Governor and Council in favour of the Committee of Trade, securing to it "the free and sole Purchase of the Articles of Salt, Beetle Nut, and Tobacco, from the 1st of September 1765 to the 31st of August 1766". Thus was established the Society or the Committee of Trade in 1765. Justifying its institution the Select Committee wrote (54) to the Court of Directors on 30th September, 1765, that it had considered the latter's orders relating to the trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco, "with all the attention possible, and regard to" its "interest, and the good of the Service"; that it had realised that "to remove the inconveniences of a free trade, prevent the oppressions daily committed, save this valuable Article of Commerce from ruin, and diffuse the benefits resulting indiscriminately among all" its servants "entitled to Dusticks, it was necessary to vest the whole in an exclusive company", composed of the three (55) first classes of its covenanted servants, the field officers, chaplains and head surgeons; that it was its opinion that the gentlemen who had risen to those stations with credit and reputation, were certainly entitled to something more than a subsistence: they even had a right to expect such advantages in its service as might enable them to return in a few years with independence to their native country; and that with respect to the Company, it was unanimously of opinion that it would be "more for their Interest to be considered as Superiors than Proprietors".

Clive (56) also wrote to the Court on 30th September, 1765, that he hoped that the regulations relating to the salt trade would be entirely to the satisfaction of the latter; that he had at first intended to propose that the Company and its servants should be jointly and equally concerned in the trade; but that on a better consideration, he had judged it as rather "unbecoming the Dignity of the Company" and therefore concluded that it would be better if the trade were left entirely to its servants, subject to the payment of a duty to the Company, "equivalent to half the Profits" that the advantages proposed for the Governor and Council would undoubtedly appear extremely large to those who were "unacquainted with the riches of Bengal, and the numberless

(52) See the Commons' Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

(53) The deed was entered into between the Governor and Council of Fort William and the Committee of Trade.

See the Select Committee's Letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Calcutta 31st January, 1766, para 11; also letter from the President and Council, Fort William, to the Court of Directors, dated 30th September, 1765, paras. 40-41; also the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

(54) See the Committee's letter to the Court, dated at Fort William 30th September, 1765, para 32.

(55) I.e., Councils, Merchants and Factors. Writers were not to have any share in the business of the Society of Trade.

(56) See his letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Calcutta 30th September, 1765, paras 17-18; also see the Commons Report, Third, 8th April, 1773, Appendix No. 73.

opportunities which the Company's servants" had "of acquiring money (*sic*)". "But you", Clive continued, "who are now perfectly informed of the Revenues of these kingdoms, and the prodigious Emoluments within the reach of Gentlemen high in the Service, will, I am persuaded agree with Me, that if some Plan of the nature proposed, be not adopted, the Governor and Council will not fail to acquire much larger Fortunes, by other means, in a much shorter Time, which must always be productive of that quick succession, not only so detrimental to your Commercial Interest, but so totally incompatible with the acquisition of Political knowledge, which ought now to be considered as a very material Qualification, in all your Civil as well as Military servants" (57).

Another consideration which weighed with the Select Committee in instituting the Society of Trade was the restriction imposed upon the Company's servants by their new covenants referred to before, which prohibited the receipt of presents. As "this mode of raising fortunes" was prevented (58), and as the "prospect of advantage in a foreign commerce" had been dwindling away owing to "the increased investment of the Company" (59) after the acquisition of the Diwani, it was considered desirable (60) to compensate the Company's servants otherwise. "It was not expedient", said Clive on one occasion (61) afterwards, "to draw the reins too tight. It was not expedient, that the Company's servants should pass from affluence to beggary. It was necessary, that some emoluments should accrue to the servants in general, and more especially to those in superior stations, who were to assist in carrying on the measures of government. The salary of a Counsellor is, I think, scarcely three hundred pounds per annum: and it is well known that he cannot live in that country for less than three thousand pounds. The same proportion hold among the other servants. It was requisite therefore, that an establishment should take place: and the Select Committee, after the most mature deliberation, judged, that the trade in salt, betlenut and tobacco, under proper regulations, might effectually answer the purpose. The great object of our consideration was, whether this trade could

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(57) Also see the letter from the President and Council of Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 30th September, 1765, para. 40-41. *per Admiral Stevans*.

(58) See Clive's speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772.—Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, etc. Vol. XVII.

(59) See Verelst, *A View of the English Government in Bengal*, 1772, p. 113.

(60) As Mr. Verelst has said:

"The new covenants had excluded the receipt of presents; while the increased investment of the Company, (after the dewanny was obtained) absorbed the trade of the individuals, and removed all prospect of advantage in a foreign commerce. No other fund remained for the reward of services; and without proposing a reasonable prospect of independent fortunes, it was ridiculous to hope that common virtue could withstand the allurements of daily temptation, or that men armed with power would abstain from the spoils of a prostrate nation".—See his *View of the English Government in Bengal*, p. 113.

(61) See Lord Clive's speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772, in connexion with the East India Judicature Bill.—Vide Cobbett's *Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, Vol. XVII, A.D. 1771—1774, London, Printed by T. C. Hansard, 1813.



be regulated for the advantage of the Company, and also for the Company's servants; without oppressing the natives. We thought it could . . . I make no mention of the nabob; because the Company, to whom the revenues now belonged, stood in his shoes".

Mr. Sumner who had, as we have seen before, played an important part in the institution of the Salt Society, said later on in the course of his evidence before a Parliamentary Committee, (62) that the plan of the salt society had been calculated "to bring salt at a more reasonable price (63) to the Hands of the Consumer; to increase the Revenues to the Company £120000 per Annum; and to hold out such Rewards of Fidelity to their servants, as might engage them, by Ties of Interest and Gratitude, to a cordial Discharge of their Duty". After the acquisition of the Diwani, it had become, Mr. Sumner continued, (64) "an Object with the Select Committee, how to enable the Company to derive to themselves, through the channel of their Commerce, all possible Benefit from their new Acquisitions". "This could not be effected but by an increased Investment in the Manufactures of Bengal; to secure this Increase, it became necessary to restrain the servant from purchasing so largely as they had been accustomed to, on private account, Goods of the same assortment with the Company's: Raw silk was earnestly sought for by the Court of Directors, and the servants were particularly restrained in that Article, from which they had always derived the greatest Profits" (65). Moreover, "the whole Body of Proprietors", observed (66) Mr. Sumner, "having thought proper at this Time to bind down by covenant their servants from the receipt of Presents, and the salaries allowed, by the Company to their Council, being inadequate even to the charge of a House Rent, no Prospects of returning to their Native Country remained to the servants, except from the Advantages of an Inland Trade". These were the Reasons which had according to him induced the Select Committee "to lose no time in forming a Plan to carry on this important Inland Trade" (67).

It may also be noted in connection with this plan that in consequence of a letter from the Committee of Trade, dated 21st October, 1765, the Select Committee consented, (68) at a meeting held at Fort William on 29th October, 1765, to the appointment of European Agents "to conduct the Business of the Society in the different parts of the country". These agents were to be persons of approved character, and were required "to enter into such

(62) See The Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

(63) Clive also said in the House of Commons: Mr. Sumner "took the medium price of salt, throughout the country, for above twenty years past; and fixed the price at from twelve to fifteen per cent below that medium. Hence it was not probable, that any grievance should fall upon the poor".—See his speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772.

Also see Verelst, *A View of the English Government in Bengal*, p. 116 (footnote).

(64) See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

(65) *Ibid.*

(66) *Ibid.*

(67) *Ibid.*

(68) See the Proceedings of the Select Committee, Fort William, 29th October, 1765; also the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

Engagements and Restrictions as we may judge necessary for regulating their conduct and securing the Country from disturbance and the Natives from injury or molestation" (69). And it appears from a letter of the Committee of Trade to the Select Committee, dated 1st November, 1765, that nine persons were appointed Agents to the Salt Society ; and in its reply to the Committee of Trade of 5th November, 1765, the Select Committee "made several Restrictions respecting the said Agents" (70).

We have given above a brief account of what is known as the *first plan* of the Society of Trade brought into operation in 1765. We have also stated the reasons which had induced the Select Committee to devise it. It was claimed—perhaps rightly—that it was not probable that any grievance had "fallen upon the poor" as a consequence of the establishment of the Salt Society, because Mr. Sumner who had principally devised its plan, had taken "the medium price of salt, throughout the country, for above twenty years past ; and fixed the price at from twelve to fifteen per cent below that

(69) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 29th October, 1765.

(70) See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

The Select Committee wrote to the Committee of Trade that, as the latter had represented to it that the Society for conducting the inland trade would derive very particular advantages from entrusting the management of its concerns to European Agents, it had consented, subject to certain limitations, to a measure which it could never otherwise approve, namely, "Giving Permission to Europeans, not in the Company's Covenanted Service, to reside in different and remote Parts of the Country". It "opens", the Committee said, "so large a Field for Abuse and Oppression, and is in itself so opposite to the express Injunctions of the Court of Directors, so contrary to the orders we have so lately issued, and so alarming to the Natives in general, that such Indulgence can only be justified by Necessity". With a view to laying such restraints on the conduct of the Agents as would appear to it "best calculated to prevent future cause of complaint, and secure the Peace and Repose of the Country", the Select Committee required that all European Agents, on whatever service employed by the Society, must subscribe to the following restrictions before they should leave the Presidency, and "bind themselves in a penal Bond of 30000 Rupees, to a strict observance of the same, which Penalty shall be levied on conviction of their Breach of Agreement, and applied at the Discretion of the Board (i.e., the Council), or of this Committee" :—

"1st. That they carry on no Trade or Commerce, either as Agents or Principals, except for the Benefit of the whole Society of Inland Trade.

2nd. That they lend no Money to the Zemindars, the public officers or other Persons any way connected with the Government.

3rd. That they assume to themselves no judicial Power or Authority whatever ; but in all cases of Difference or Dispute between them and the Natives apply for Redress to the Country Government, and in case of Delay or Refusal, to the Select Committee.

4th. That they neither interfere, directly or indirectly, with any Business relative to Government, or by any Means whatever give Interruption to the collections, or just Cause of Complaint to the Administration ; but confine themselves scrupulously and strictly to the sale of the Salt, Tobacco, and Beetle Nut, committed to their charge, making such Returns of the Produce as the Society may require and expecting no other Reward of their services than the stated allowance by commission on the above Articles".

These were the principal restrictions which the Select Committee considered necessary, "to avoid Contradiction" in its own resolutions, and to secure the Company from Injury, the Ministers from Occasion of Complaint, and the Natives from Insult and Oppression".—Vide the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773, Appendix No. 42.

medium" (71). The plan had been settled for one year only so that the Select Committee "might have an early opportunity of completing afterwards what was originally intended as an experiment" (72). But whatever might be said in favour of the plan, there can be no reasonable doubt that it established a monopoly for an "exclusive Company"; for it provided that all the salt, betelnut and tobacco produced in, or imported into, Bengal "shall be purchased by this established Company", and that "public Advertisement shall be issued, strictly prohibiting all other Persons whatever, who are dependent on our (i.e., the Company's) Government to deal in those Articles". Clive also admitted that the plan had established "really a monopoly. The trade was taken out of the hands of some of the merchants" (73). Moreover, very handsome profits were expected. In a letter (74) addressed to one Colonel Call on 14th December, 1765, Clive wrote: "The Capital of the trade is 32 (75) lacs of sicca rupees, upon which the most moderate expect to make 50 per cent., clear of all charges; others, 75 per cent.; and the most sanguine, 100 per cent. Take the lowest, and a Councillor's and a colonel's profit will be 7000 l. sterling per annum; a lieutenant-colonel's and junior merchant's 3000 l.; majors' and factors', 2000 l. These advantages, and a free open trade (?), are in lieu of all presents from the natives, and all perquisites disadvantageous to the Company, and dishonourable to the servants" (76).

#### THE COURT OF DIRECTORS AND THE SOCIETY OF TRADE.

Information regarding the institution of the Society of Trade was first communicated to the Court of Directors by Clive in his letter (77) of 30th (78) September, 1765, and also by the Council (79) and the Select Committee, (80) by their letters of 30th September, 1765. These letters had been dispatched by the *Admiral Stevens* on 18th October, (81) 1765, and the Court received them on 19th April, (82) 1766. What the Court wrote to the Select Committee and Clive on 17th May, (83) 1766, in reply, is at once marked by a spirit of

(71) See Lord Clive's speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772.—Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, etc., Vol. XVII, already referred to.

(72) *Ibid.*

(73) See Lord Clive's speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772.

(74) Quoted by Malcolm in his *Memoirs of Lord Clive*, Vol. III, pp. 102-3.

(75) The capital was a little over 24 lakhs (current rupees) to begin with.

(76) Also see in this connexion William Bolts, *Considerations on India Affairs*, Chapter XIII.

(77) See paras. 17 and 18.

(78) See Clive's letter to the Court of Directors dated at Calcutta 30th September, 1765.

(79) See the President and Council's (Bengal) letter to the Court of Directors, dated 30th September, 1765, paras. 40-41.

(80) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 30th September, 1765, paras. 32-33.

(81) According to Mr. Verelst. See his "*View of the English Government in Bengal*", p. 111 (footnote).

(82) See the Court's letter to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 1.

(83) See the *ibid.*

humanity and a sense of fairplay and justice just befitting a virtually ruling authority. We may give here, for considerations of space, only one or two extracts from its replies, by way of illustration. For example, it wrote (84) to the Select Committee that it had in all its "Letters from the first knowledge" it had had of its "servants being Engaged in the Inland Trade", discountenanced and forbidden it; that it had always treated it "as a breach of our orders, a violation of the Phirmaund and in a great measure the cause of the late wars". The amazing sums demanded for restitution (85) in respect of the losses sustained in this trade, had opened its eyes to the vast extent to which it had been carried; and the oppression of "the unhappy natives" that had "attended the carrying it on and which have pervaded all parts of the Nabob's dominions", had convinced it that "a monopoly of the necessaries of life in any hands whatever more especially in the hands of the English who are possessed of such an overruling influence" was liable "to the greatest abuses" (86).

Much, it was true, the Court said, had been urged by its servants at different times in favour of the right to this trade; but it had always treated such a claim as "a most absurd" one (87). The words of the Farman were "whatever goods the English Company shall bring or carry etc. are duty free". To suppose that "the Court of Delhi could mean by these words a monopoly of the necessaries of life over their own subjects" was "such an absurdity" that it would not "lose time or words in trying to refute it". Such a construction seemed never to have been thought of till the year 1762, and the Court did not find any evidence that Lord Clive or the gentlemen who had conducted its affairs at the time of the conclusion of the treaty with Meer Jaffier in 1757, had conceived that they had acquired by that treaty "any

(84) See the Court's letter to the Select Committee, Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 31.

(85) Reference here is to the sum of 40 lakhs of Sicca rupees (later on raised to 48 lakhs), which the Nawab Meer Jaffier had had to agree to pay in 1763 to the English merchants by way of compensation of the losses which they had said they had suffered during the war with Meer Cossim.—See the *ibid*; also Secret Consultation, Fort William, 24th September, 1764; also Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 30th March, 1774, para. 62; also Secret Consultations, Fort William, 21st November, 1764, and 6th December, 1764.

We may also note in this connexion the following remarks of the Court of Directors on the question of "restitution":—

"Although the Treaty with Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn was entered into before Mr. Spencer's arrival (in Bengal as Governor) yet he gave his sanction to every part of it, particularly that which stipulated Restitution for Losses, which we make no doubt he knew to be mostly *sustained in an illicit Trade*, and preferring the Interest of the servants to the Honour of the Company, countenanced the aggravating circumstances which accompanied that shameful *Prostitution of our authority* in rising in the Demand, till by flinging in outstanding Debts it was carried to the exorbitant sum of Fifty three Lacks, and Mr. Spencer though no way interested therein joined in the ungenerous Proceedings by which Meer Jaffier's Consent was extorted for the payment of these Demands".—See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 19th February, 1766, para 34. (The italics are ours).

(86) See the Court's Letter to the Select Committee, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 31.

(87) *Ibid.*, para 32.

one additional privilege of Trade" (88). It had indeed had some private information "of its servants being engaged in such a trade", and it had taken notice of it in its letter of 19th February, 1762. Although it had received no reply in respect of this point, yet it had found nothing about this trade in its Records received from India till, it said, it came across a letter from the Nawab Meer Cossim entered in the Consultation of 18th October, 1762, in which he had complained "of the conduct of the Company's servants at Dacca in forcing the country merchants to take Tobacco and other things above the market price". Soon after "the debates on the Mongheer Treaty" explained to it that the English had been concerned in this trade for some years and that, indeed, "three years possession had taught them to look on it as a matter of Right and vindicate as such in their negotiations with Cossim Ali Chan" (89). As soon as this had come to its knowledge, continued (90) the Court, it strictly forbid this kind of trade by its orders of 8th February, 1764. The Governor and Council had taken these orders into consideration on 17th October, 1764, but "they presumed at the same time to carry it on in defiance of those orders".

Referring then to the desire of the Select Committee that the Court should permit such trade "for the advantage of the Company and of the Company's servants", the Court observed (91): "With respect to the Company it was neither consistent with their honor nor their dignity to promote such an exclusive trade as it is now more immediately our Interest and duty to protect and cherish the Inhabitants and to give them no occasion to look on every Englishman as their national Enemy a sentiment we think such a monopoly would necessarily suggest. We cannot therefore approve the plan *you have sent us for trading in salt, Beetlenut, and Tobacco or admit of this Trade in any shape whatever* (92) and do hereby confirm our former orders for its entire abolition and we must here observe to you that we continue in the same opinion which you find expressed in our Letters of the 24th December (93) and 19th February (94) last that every one concerned in this Trade even before Receipt of our Letter 1st June 1764 has been guilty of a breach of his covenant".

"We are fully sensible", the Court concluded (95), "that *these Innovations and illegal Traffic laid the foundation of all the bloodshed massacres and confusion which have happened of late years* (96). We cannot suffer ourselves to indulge a thought towards the continuance of them, upon any conditions whatsoever no regulations can in our opinions be formed that be effectual to prevent the like consequences which we have seen. We consider

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(88) See the Court's letter to the Select Committee at Fort William, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 33.

(89) *Ibid*, para 33.

(90) *Ibid*, para 34.

(91) Court's letter to the Select Committee (Fort William), 17th May, 1766, para 36.

(92) The italics are ours.

(93) 1765.

(94) 1766.

(95) Court's letter to the Select Committee (Fort William), 17th May, 1766, para. 37.

(96) The italics are ours.

it too as disgraceful and below the dignity of our present situation to allow of such a monopoly and were we to allow of it under any restrictions. We should consider ourselves as assenting and subscribing to all the mischiefs which Bengal has presented to us for these four years past . . . we must enjoin you to have particular regard and attention to the good of the natives whose interest and welfare are now become our primary care and we earnestly recommend it to you that you take the most effectual methods to *prevent these necessities of Life from being monopolized by the rich and great amongst themselves* (97) and by that the poor and indigent becoming liable to those great grievances and exactions we mean to prevent our own people from being guilty of" (98). And in a separate letter (99) the Court wrote to Lord Clive that it thought that "the vast fortunes acquired in the Inland Trade" had been obtained "by a scene of the most tyrannick and oppressive conduct that ever was known in any age or country". "We have been uniform", it also stated therein, "in our sentiments and orders on this subject from the first knowledge we had of it ; and your Lordship will not therefore wonder that *after the fatal Experience* (100) we have had of the violent abuses committed in this Trade that we could not be brought to approve it even in the limited (*sic*) and regulated manner with which it comes to us in the Plan (101) laid down in the Committee's (102) proceedings". The Court agreed in opinion, however, with His Lordship "on the propriety of holding out such advantages to" its chief servants, Civil and Military, as might open to them the means of honourably acquiring a competency in its service ; but the difficulty of the subject and the short time it then had "to consider of it" had obliged it, the Court added, to defer giving "its sentiments and directions thereupon until the next dispatch" (103).

(97) The italics are ours.

(98) The Court added :—"With respect to the advantages of the Company's servants we would have gentlemen look back to any period before the Capture of Calcutta and turn their attention to Our other settlements they will then find *Our service never did nor ever was meant to afford sudden influence or immense fortunes to every man employed therein...a moderate independence was the reward of many years service* succession was slow and the Rank of Councillor was rarely attained before the age of Thirty but donations first and then this Inland Trade shortened the path to Riches. Donations became the reserved motives for revolutions in the Government, the monopolies of the necessities of life were founded on its Ruin. We do not mean by this to bring back the state of our service precisely to its former limits..... If our younger servants obtain an earlier independency they become impatient of control and we lose the benefit of their services when their riper years enable them to be the most useful to us, and stations of the highest importance fall to youngmen who have neither Judgment nor experience to conduct them".—Court's Letter to the Select Committee, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 38. The italics are ours.

By the term "donations" above the Court meant the "gifts", etc. which the grateful Nawabs or their Ministers offered, or had to offer, to the army, navy and civil servants after a revolution.

(99) See the Company's letter to the Right Hon'ble Lord Clive dated 17th May, 1766, para. 6.

(100) The italics are ours.

(101) Reference is to the first plan of the Society of Trade previously described.

(102) I.e., the Select Committee's.

(103) See the Company's letter to Clive, dated 17th May, 1766, para. 6.

The letter of the Court of Directors to the Select Committee, dated 17th May, 1766, "in Answer to the Bengal Dispatch of 30th of September, 1765" (104), reached Bengal on 8th December, 1766 (105). Meanwhile, the life of the Salt Society had been prolonged for another year under what is known as the *Second Plan* for conducting the salt Trade, which Clive had proposed before the Select Committee at its meeting held at Fort William on 3rd September, 1766, and which the Committee had unanimously approved after a mature consideration (106). The Plan had also been placed before, and approved of by, the Council on 8th September, 1766, and the latter had appointed the following persons to constitute the new Committee of Trade, "with Directions for carrying the Plan into Execution as soon as possible :—

Mr. William Brightwell Sumner,  
 „ Harry Verelst,  
 „ Randolph Marriott,  
 „ Hugh Watts,  
 „ Claud Russell, and  
 „ Charles Floyer (107).

The working of the first Plan had revealed some defects and the second Plan had been devised by Clive with a view to removing them. "Although by the acquisition of the Dewannee", Clive said (108) to the Select Committee, "the whole of the duties belong to the Company and by the diligence and zeal of the members of the Committee of trade many useful reformatations had taken place yet from my observations when I was last up the country and from the heavy complaints against Europeans of the monopoly of trade in general. I find that the industrious native is still deprived of that share to which he has an undoubted and a more natural right ; nor is it yet upon that equitable footing which justice and humanity would—I am sure incline this Committee to Establish".

It may be noted here that in deciding on 3rd September, 1766, to continue "the Salt Society a Second Year" even under a modified Plan, the Select Committee had acted against (109) the orders of the Court of Directors contained in its letter of 19th February, 1766, sent by the *Lord Camden*. These orders had positively forbidden the servants of the Company to have "any concern whatsoever" in the trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco (110). Clive

(104) See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

(105) *Ibid.*

(106) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 3rd September, 1766.

(107) See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773; also Appendix 53 thereto; also General Consultation, Fort William, 8th September, 1766.

(108) See Clive's minute in the Proceedings of the Select Committee, Fort William, of 3rd September, 1766.

(109) See the Commons' Report (Fourth), 21st April, 1773; also Clive's Minute in the Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 3rd September, 1766.

(110) The exact language was—"Whatever government may be established, or whatever unforeseen circumstances may arise, it is our resolution to prohibit, and we do absolutely forbid this trade of salt, beetlenut, and tobacco, and of all articles that are not for export and import, according to the spirit of the Firmaun, which does not in the least give any

held, however, that when the Court had issued those orders, it "could not have had the least idea of the favourable change (*i.e.*, the acquisition of the Diwani by the Company) in the affairs of these provinces whereby the interest of the nabob with regard to salt is no longer immediately concerned" (111) "A few weeks more", he also observed, "must bring us the final resolutions of the Court of Directors in answer to our dispatch by the Admiral Stevens and if notwithstanding the present situation of their affairs they should think proper to repeat their order per Lord Camden—it will be our duty to obey them and I am persuaded they will be obeyed by this Committee" (112).

Briefly speaking, under the Second Plan "all salt provided by the Society of Trade" was to be "sold at Calcutta and at the other places where it was made, and nowhere". The price of salt was not to exceed "to rupees per maund or two hundred rupees per one hundred maund". It was to be "sold to the natives only" who were "to transport to every part of Bengal Behar and Orissa and to have the whole profits arising from the sale thereof and . . . . no Company's servant, Free Merchant or European" was to be permitted to have any concern in that article directly or indirectly after the sale of it at the above places. Nor was any "Banian or servant whatever belonging to any European" to be permitted to have any concern in the salt business. Provision was also made in the Plan for the fixation of the price of salt for different markets, and the duty on salt payable to the Company was to be raised under it from 35 to 50 per cent. There were to be sixty shares in the salt concern and the proprietors thereof were to be divided, to begin with, into three classes (114). Those included in class I were to have 32

latitude whatsoever for carrying on such an inland trade; and moreover we shall deem every European concerned therein, directly or indirectly, guilty of a breach of his covenants and direct he be forthwith sent to England, that we may proceed against him accordingly; and every native who shall avail himself of our protection to carry this trade on, without paying all the duties due to the government, equally with the rest of the Nabob's subjects, shall forfeit that protection, and be banished the settlements; and we direct that these resolutions be signified publicly throughout the settlement".—From the Court's letters to the President and Council at Fort William in Bengal, dated February 19th, 1766, para. 28.

It may be noted here incidentally that information regarding the acquisition of the Diwani by the Company had not reached the Court of Directors when it wrote its letter of 19th February, 1766. As a matter of fact, this information reached the Court on 19th April, 1766. This will explain the reference to the Nawab's Government in the paragraph quoted above.

(111) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 3rd September, 1766.

(112) *Ibid.*

(113) See the *ibid.*

(114) 15 persons were included in class one; 23 persons (clergymen, senior and junior merchants, and Lieutenant Colonels), in class two; and 27 persons (Factors, Majors, and Surgeons), in class three. Those included in class one were Mr. William Brightwell Sumner (3 shares), John Carnac (3 shares), and the following persons (each two shares): Messrs. C. S. Playdell, Harry Verelst, John Cartier, Francis Sykes, Randolph Marriott, Hugh Watts, Samuel Middleton, Claud Russell, William Aldersey, Thomas Kelsall, Charles Floyer, and Colonel Richard Smith and Sir Rober Barker.—See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 3rd September, 1766; also Verelst, *A View of the English Government in Bengal*, 1772, Appendix No. 145.



shares ; those included in class two, 142/3 shares ; and those included in class three, 9 shares. The remaining 4 1/3 shares were ordered to be "accounted for at a proper time". The Plan (115) further provided that 'the prohibition of a free(?) inland trade however disagreeable to individuals must now take place and be confined to imports and exports'.

"The indulgence however in the trade of salt—upon the footing it will—I hope—now established", said (116) Clive, "should in my opinion obviate all complaints since it seems to be the most Equitable modes between the Company and their servants and at the same time a distribution of natural right to the people of the country. Considering the late great advantages of unlimited inland trade are cut off. I cannot imagine that the Court of Directors will deny their servants this share of benefit as a recompense for their attention and assistance in the management of the important concerns of these provinces". At the same time, he warned (117) the servants of the Company, saying that he "would have the servants look upon these Emoluments as a gift from the hand of their Employers offered them annually in reward of their fidelity", and that they "would certainly be withheld from them if ever their authority should be resisted and discontent and rapacity take place of gratitude and moderation".

Before, however, the Select Committee adjourned its meeting, it had requested its President (Lord Clive) to prepare a letter from it to the Court, to be dispatched by the ship *Lord Camden* (118). As a matter of fact, three letters were written to the Court to inform it of the alterations the Committee had made in the original "Plan for carrying on the Salt Trade", together with its "Arguments on the subject"—one on 6th September, 1766, by Clive, and two by the Committee itself, one on 8th September and the

(115) Explaining his own plan in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772, Clive said : "I soon found there was some defect in this (i.e. the first) plan. It was really a monopoly. The trade was taken out of the hands of some of the merchants. The proportion of the Company's servants was too large; the duty to the Company was too small: the agents appointed to sell the salt had made an improper use of their power; they had not strictly kept to their contract, which was, that they should receive five per cent upon the sale of salt, as a consequence for their trouble, and that they should not enter into any trade for themselves, under a very severe penalty. I therefore proposed a plan for the next year, which I think destroyed every idea of monopoly. The Society, instead of employing agents up the country to dispose of the salt, were to sell it at Calcutta, and at the places where it was made to the black merchants only: who were each limited to a certain quantity of purchase, and tied down to a price for sale at every market town. The duty to the Company was now established at fifty per cent which would produce 160 000 l. per annum; the black merchants were to have the liberty of transporting the salt all over the country, free from every taxation or obstruction; and the strictest orders were issued, that no Englishman, or their agents, should directly or indirectly have any further concern in it".—See Clive's speech in the House of Commons on March 30th, 1772—Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XVII, 1771-74.

(116) See Clive's Minute in the Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort, William, 3rd September, 1766.

(117) *Ibid.*

(118) See *ibid.*

other on 5th December, 1766. Clive wrote (119) to the Court that, as the new covenants (regarding the acceptance of presents) and a strict obedience to its orders, "more particularly in confining the Trade of Individuals to Imports and Exports only", had "abridged the servants of many of their accustomed Emoluments", and as the Company had in fact become "the sole Proprietors of the immense revenues of the 3 Provinces (of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa), not to mention the 12 or 13 Laak of Rupees p annum, now arising from the Duty upon Salt and Betelnut", he would desire that the gentlemen in its service might be suffered, "as an encouragement to Industry and good behaviour", to enjoy "the moderate proportion which is now settled of those great advantages that have accrued to their Employers". Moreover, he had, he said, other reasons of great importance, for which this indulgence might be continued. He, therefore hoped that the new plan of the Salt Society, would receive its approbation (120).

The Select Committee wrote (121) on 8th September, 1766, that probably by that time the Court had determined "the fate of the Inland trade in Salt, Betel (nut), and Tobacco, where it may be continued, under the regulations . . . . established (by it), or totally to be relinquished by" its servants. "We shall therefore only observe on this occasion", it further said to the Court, "that certain amendments are now proposed by the President (i.e., Clive) and adopted by the Select Committee which we think will remove every Inconvenience observed in the present establishment of that Trade, and secure to the Company the power of rewarding or punishing their servants, according to the degree of their Merit or Misconduct". And in its letter (122) of 5th December, 1766, the Committee wrote to the Court that the latter's remarks on the inland trade had been so "peculiarly striking and so perfectly agreeable" to its own sentiments "respecting that perpetual source of oppression and complaint", that it had determined "immediately to apply the most efficacious remedies to a disease which must in time have subverted the constitution, and endangered the being of the East India Company"; that by the *Admiral Stevens*, it (i.e. the Court) had been "informed of the Plan it (i.e. the Committee) had concerted for carrying on the Trade in Salt, Tobacco, and Beetle Nut for the Benefit of the Company and their Servants, without Injury to the Nabob, and without molestation or oppression of the natives"; that it had been the best and most equitable system it could then devise; but that experience had shown the necessity "of laying the Trade under farther Restrictions, the reasons for which, together with the particular mode of conducting this valuable branch of Commerce in future" had fully been explained in Lord Clive's minute, entered on its proceedings (of 3rd

(119) See Lord Clive's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Calcutta 6th September, 1766, para. 2; also see the Common's Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773, Appendix 54.

(120) See the *ibid.*

(121) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors dated at Fort William, 8th September, 1766, para. 25; also see the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773, Appendix 55.

(122) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 5th December, 1766; also the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1766, Appendix No. 56.

September, 1766). In those "Emendations of the Plan" on which the Society of Trade had been founded, all due regard, said the Committee, had been paid "to the sovereign Prerogative of the Company acting as Collectors for the King, and more especially to the scrupulous Distribution of natural Right to the native inhabitants". It, therefore, flattered itself that the inland trade would henceforward prove to the Company "a commodious Fund for rewarding the different Degrees of Merit amongst" its servants, and a fruitful "Source for Encouragement to the Industry of the Country People", who were "now, without Distinction, admitted to a Participation of its Benefit, upon the most reasonable and moderate Terms". To the regulations (123) framed "for conducting the Business of the Society of Trade", it had added, it remarked in conclusion, "a total Prohibition of another species of Inland Traffic, in a Variety of Articles usually transported from one District of the interior Country to another, whereby an extensive Field was open for the abuse of Power, and the most notorious Acts of Fraud and Injustice; all Europeans in your Service, or under your Protection, are now indiscriminately confined to trade in certain stated Articles of Import and Export; the Returns are to be made from the Places where the Goods were sold directly to the Presidency, or to the subordinate Factory from whence they were dispatched; and no circular Traffic, by way of Barter or otherwise, is in future to be allowed from one Aurung to another, on Pain of confiscation of the Goods, and Loss of your service and Protection".

Thus Clive and his Committee attempted to justify their action, namely, the continuance of the Salt Society for a second year, before the Court of Directors.

As we have seen before, the letter of the Court to the Select Committee, dated 17th May, 1766, disapproving of the plan which the Committee had transmitted to it by its letter of 30th September, 1765, "for trading in salt, Beetle Nut, and Tobacco", and confirming its former orders for its entire abolition, reached Bengal on 8th December, 1766. Referring to the orders of the Court conveyed by this letter, Clive said to the Select Committee (124) on 16th January, (125) 1767, that the "orders from the Court of Directors to abolish the salt Trade" had been received. These orders must be "punctually obeyed". But as he was of opinion that "the Trade, upon its present footing", was rather beneficial than injurious to the inhabitants of the country and that "a continuation of this Indulgence, or some other equivalent" had become absolutely necessary and would be "an honourable Incitement to Diligence and Zeal in the Company's service", he flattered himself that the Court of Directors might be induced to settle some plan that would prove

(123) See *ibid.*

(124) See Clive's letter to the Select Committee in the Proceedings of the meeting of the Committee held at Fort William on 16th January, 1767. Clive was present at this meeting and himself delivered the letter.

(125) The delay in the consideration of the orders of the Court conveyed by its letter of 17th May, 1766, was due to "the severe Indisposition" of Clive himself.—See the Select Committee's letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William, 24th January, 1767.

agreeable to the wishes of the Committee (126) And the Committee, there-upon, resolved that, the Court having in its letter to it absolutely prohibited the inland trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco "in any shape and upon any Plan whatsoever", "the Society of Trade shall be abolished" and that "the inland trade totally relinquished on the 1st Day of September next (i.e., 1767)" (127). It decided, however, fully to express its sentiments, in its "next advices" to the Court, "respecting the advantage which would result to the service and to the country from the continuance of this Trade under the present Restrictions". (128) Accordingly, the Committee wrote to the Court on 24th January, 1767 (129):—

"We come now to speak of your instructions relative to the Inland Trade. You very *justly consider as the foundation of all the Bloodshed, Massacre and Confusion which have happened of late years in Bengal* (130). Your orders are positive and therefore our obedience shall be explicit—accordingly you will observe in our Proceedings (Jany. 16) that the *Society* for conducting this branch of Traffic *stands absolutely abolished* on the 1st day of September next. The contract for the present year being formed and large advances made it was impossible without ruin to individuals and confusion to the Public, to fix an earlier date for the execution of your orders".

The Committee added, (131) however, that although its sense of duty obliged it to pay the strictest obedience to the peremptory orders of the Court for abolishing a trade to which the latter had expressed so strong an aversion, yet the same sense of duty required that it should freely offer its sentiments on a subject in which it thought the immediate interest of the Company, "the good of the service, and the public welfare" were deeply concerned. The Court of Directors, and indeed the whole body of Proprietors, the Committee also observed, had found it necessary to restrain by covenants their civil and military servants from receiving those advantages to which they had for many years been accustomed. It had also been proposed, in order that it might enjoy the real fruits of its "late Acquisitions" (i.e., the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa), to make such an increase of investment, particularly in silk, as would effectually deprive its servants of the usual benefit arising from private trade. Further, these servants had been prohibited from lending money at a higher rate of interest than 12 per cent per annum in order that the revenues of the Company might not be injured in any degree; and "a Trade by Sea, in the Manufactures of the country, being the only remaining Channel for the Exertion of Industry, that likewise" was choked up "by those shoals of Free Merchants annually imported, who being incumbered with no public business, nor confined to Residence in Bengal" could carry

(126) See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 16th January, 1767.

(127) See *ibid.*

(128) See *ibid.*

(129) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court, dated at Fort William, 24th January, 1767, para. 20.

(130) The italics are ours.

(131) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court, dated at Fort William, 24th January, 1767, para. 21.

on a free trade with every port in India, to much greater advantage than its servants.

"Taking all these circumstances into consideration, reflecting also upon the great encrease of luxury of late years, in consequence of the sudden influx of wealth and that it will not be practicable for a time to reduce the charges of living to the present means of supporting those charges we adopted", continued (132) the Committee, "in consequence of your permission the plan of a regular and restricted inland Trade, as the best method of rewarding faithful services the surest means to excite Zeal and the fairest mode of carrying on a beneficial Trade, with(out) relinquishing all the advantages we have hitherto received or subjecting the natives to those encroachments on their natural rights, of which they have with too much reason complained".

"We are now directed *totally to renounce all share in, and benefit from, this Trade*" ; (133) said (134) the Committee in conclusion, "it must be made over to the Natives. The Government must of Course come into Possession ; nor can it be carried on otherwise than upon the ancient Footing of farming it out to the Ministers, Officers, Favourites, and Dependents on the Government, who will rear immense Fortunes upon the Oppression and Ruin of the Public, in Despite of our utmost Influence and Endeavours. These are at present our Suspicions ; Time alone can verify our Conjectures. You no doubt will maturely consider, how far it is probable men will continue honest against all the Seductions of private Interest ; and whether it may not be necessary to strengthen the Ties of that Duty expected from your Servants, by the tighter Bonds of Gratitude, for the Affluence which they enjoy during the Time of their Servitude, and the Independency they ought to secure before the close of their Labours".

We next find, however, in the proceedings of the meeting of the Select Committee held at Fort William on 11th February, 1767, that the Committee adopted a resolution to the effect that publication should be made by its Secretary of its resolution of 16th January, 1767, "to abolish the Society of Inland Trade in the articles of salt, Beetle and Tobacco on the 1st Day of September next ; (135) after which Day no European whatsoever living under the Hon'ble Company's Protection, shall be permitted to trade directly or indirectly in the above articles, on Pain of forfeiting the Company's service and Protection".

And at its meeting held at Fort William on 4th August, 1767, the Select Committee confirmed its previous resolution "for abolishing the Society of Trade on the 3rd (136) of September next, & restoring to the Natives the Trade in Salt, Betlenut & Tobacco, pursuant to the orders" transmitted to it by the Court of Directors ; and agreed to recommend to the President and

(132) See the Select Committee's letter to the Court, dated at Fort William. 24th January, 1767, para. 22.

(133) Words are underlined in the relevant manuscript.

(134) See *ibid*, para. 24.

(135) *I.e.* 1767.

(136) This is curious : the date agreed upon was the 1st of September, 1767.

Council at Fort William "the making immediate Publication, that after the 3rd (137) Day of September next all Company's servants & other Europeans residing under Protection of the British Flag, shall be utterly excluded from all share and Participation in the Trade of Salt, Betlenut & Tobacco ; and that whoever presumes after that Date to engage in the manufacturing or sale of those Articles, excepting of the Ballances now in the Hands of the Society & of Individuals shall on the first Trespass forfeit the service and Protection of the Company, and likewise undergo such further Pains & Penalties as the Board may think it necessary to prescribe for fulfilling the spirit & Intention of the Hon. Company's orders".

Moreover, the Committee agreed to write the following letter (138) to the Resident at the Durbar :—

"Sir,

You are already acquainted with the Resolution formed by this Committee of enforcing the Company's orders for abolishing the Society of inland Trade by the 3rd Day of September next, and restoring to the Natives that Branch of Commerce to the utter Exclusion of all Europeans residing under Protection of the British Flag.

"We have at our last Meeting confirmed the above Resolution & farther determined upon exerting our utmost Endeavours to answer in the most ample & effectual Manner the full spirit & Intention of these Instructions conveyed to us by our Honble Employers.

"In depriving their servants of all share and Participation of the inland Trade in salt, Betlenut & Tobacco, the Court of Directors evidently aim at difusing (diffusing?) this Traffic in the most extensive and equitable Manner amongst the Natives themselves, so as to prevent a Monopoly of it in the Hands of Ministers, Favourites & Dependents of the Government, to the Injury & oppression of the industrious Merchant & Labourer. They seem also to hope, that so striking an Instance of their disinterested views will make a deep Impression on the Minds of the people, and prove the most effectual Means of conciliating them to our administration.

"You will therefore use your utmost Influence in recommending to the Ministers whatever may best serve to promote those Purposes of the Honble Court of Directors.

"To this End we think it essentially necessary, that the most positive orders shall be issued by the Ministers to the Zemindars of those Lands where salt is manufactured, that no one Person be permitted to work all calaris within their respective districts ; but that the same be divided and diffused among as many of the Merchants as are willing to engage in the making of salt : and that the orders of the Ministers may not be eluded by the Artifice and contrivance of the Zemindars, we would recommend,

(137) See the preceding footnote.

(138) The letter was dated August 4th, 1767. See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 4th August, 1767.

that a monthly Return shall be made to the City, specifying the names of the several Merchants employed & also the Quantity of salt manufactured in each District.

"We would further recommend your explaining in the most satisfactory Manner to the Ministers, that as Dewan for the King, the Company are not desirous of repealing to themselves any Advantage from the inland Trade in Salt, Betle & Tobacco, excepting by Means of the established Ground rent & Duties. You will urge to them, that it is our wish the Duties may be adjusted at the Bandahrs & Chokies in as easy and equitable a Manner as possible ; that the collections may be made by the officers of the Government only, and that all their Attention be exerted to prevent those Duties from being formed out, whereby a Monopoly most injurious to the Public and destructive of the Company's views might ensue. In a word, it is our Inclination to forward the Company's Intentions by every Means that he devised ; & the Ministers will from thence readily perceive the Policy, the Justice & the Necessity of excluding the French, Dutch & Danes equally with the English, from all share and concern in the Trade of Salt, Beetlenut & Tobacco".

It appears, however, also from the report (139) of a Parliamentary Committee that "Lord Clive, after his Arrival in England, in a Letter, dated the 28th of August 1767, used many Arguments with the Court of Directors, to induce them to continue the Benefit of the Salt Trade to their Servants". Among other things, he stated therein (140) that the necessity of rewarding the superior servants of the Company, both civil and military, was obvious ; since the large investment required by the Company made it impossible for individuals, who performed their duties, to acquire anything considerable by private trade. The means of regulating this reward had frequently engaged his attention ; and after the most mature deliberation, he had found none so convenient, proper, or equitable as the trade in salt. "If you grant a commission upon the revenues", he further said (141), "the sum will not only be large, but known to the world ; the Allowance being publicly ascertained, every Man's Proportion will at Times be the occasion of much Discourse, Envy and Jealousy ; the Great will interfere in your Appointments, and Noblemen will perpetually solicit you to provide for the younger Branches of their Families ; a commission upon your Investments, whether upon the Provision in Bengal or upon the Sales in Europe, is liable to the same objections".

Besides, he pointed out in his letter (142) that it was an erroneous opinion that the trade in salt had formerly been an open one. It ever had been, and must ever be, a monopoly. "Some great Favourite or Favourites always had the whole in their own Hands ; for which they not only paid an annual

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(139) See Clive's letter to the Court of Directors, dated 28th August, 1767.—*Vide* the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773, Appendix 59.

(140) See *ibid.*

(141) See *ibid.*

(142) See *ibid.*

Piescash, or Acknowledgment in Money, to the Subah, but likewise gave considerable Presents, both in Money and in Curiosities, to him and to his Minister: But the Natives can have no just Cause of complaint, provided they be furnished with this Article upon more reasonable Terms than formerly" (143). And this would be the case, he said, under the plan of the Salt Society as framed by the Select Committee. The salt trade should, therefore, in his opinion, be "confirmed to the Select Committee, the Council, the Field Officers, and the Senior and Junior Merchants" (144).

The resolution of the Select Committee of 16th January, 1767, for abolishing the Society of Trade, was placed before the Council on 16th February, 1767, and the Council ordered it to be published (145). It appears, however, from the report of a Parliamentary Committee that the Society "was not in fact dissolved till the 14th of September, 1768". Meanwhile, the Court had repeated its directions regarding the Salt Society.

As we have seen before the Second Plan of the Society of Trade which the Select Committee had framed on 3rd September, 1766, had been placed before, and approved, by, the Council on 8th September, 1766. With reference to this action of the Council, the Court of Directors wrote (146) to the President and Council at Fort William on 20th November, 1767, that it had taken their plan for conducting the salt trade, as contained in their proceedings of 8th September, 1766, into its most serious consideration, and that "having revised" all that they as well as it itself had written on the subject of the inland trade in general, and of salt in particular, it was "the more convinced of the absolute necessity of excluding all Persons whatsoever excepting the natives only from being concerned therein". It, therefore, 'ratified' and 'confirmed' the orders which it had previously given in its letters of 19th February and 17th May, 1766, that "no Company's servant, Free Merchant, or any European, shall in any mode or shape whatsoever either by themselves or agents directly or indirectly Trade in or be concerned in carrying on an Inland Trade in salt, Beetle-nut, Tobacco or in any other articles produced and consumed in the Country". Further, it ordered "such Trade" to be "hereby absolutely abolished and put a final End to, agreeable" to its "before-mentioned Orders" (147). Moreover, the Court directed (148): "If any of the before described Persons shall directly or indirectly carry on or be concerned in such Inland Trade, or in farming the callaries or making salt, if a Company's servant he is to be immediately dismissed the Company's

(143) The argument that the trade in salt had been a monopoly before and that, therefore, it must ever be a monopoly, does not seem to us very convincing. It amounts in essence to this that because a wrong had existed in the past, this was a sufficient justification for its continuance in future.

(144) See Clive's letter to the Court of Directors, dated 28th August, 1767, already referred to.

(145) See the Commons Report, Fourth, 21st April, 1773.

(146) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 20th November, 1767, para. 88.

(147) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 20th November, 1767, para. 88.

(148) *Ibid*, para. 88.



service, and from all others, the Company's Protection is to be forthwith withdrawn".

Lastly, referring in this connexion to the interests of the people of this country, the Court declared (149): "Past Experience has so impressed us with the Idea of the necessity of confining our servants and Europeans residing under our protection, within the ancient Limits of our Export and Import Trade that we look on every innovation in the Inland trade as an intrusion on the natural Right of the natives of the Country, who now more particularly claim our Protection and *we esteem it as much our Duty to maintain this Barrier between the two Commercial Rights, as to defend the Provinces from Foreign Invasions* (150).

As shown before, while forbidding the participation by its servants in the inland trade of the country, the Court was not indifferent to their interest. "As the Trade of our servants", it wrote (151) on 20th November, 1767, "is to be confined to the Articles of Import and Export only, in which they shall be considerably affected by the great Demands for extending the Company's Investments, and considering the great Encrease of Business in which our principal servants are necessarily engaged, and which demand their utmost care and attention, we are come to a Resolution to give a reasonable Encouragement to exert themselves with zeal and alacrity in their several Departments, but which they are to look upon as a Free Gift from the Hand of their Employers, offered to them annually so long as the present Revenues shall remain with the Company, and their Behaviour shall continue to merit such a Reward". It, therefore, ordered and directed (152) that the Governor and Council should "draw out an annual account of the sums received from the Duannee deducting thereout the stipulated Payments to the King and the Nabob and the allowance to the Nabob's ministers ; also of the Revenue of the Provinces of Burdwan, Midnapur, Chittagong and the Calcutta Purgunnahs from which are to be deducted Lord Clive's Jaghire and the ordinary charges of collection." And upon the amount of the said net revenues, they were "Indulged to draw a commission of two and a half P Cent." The sum which was "to be the produce of the said Two and a half P Cent" commission was to be divided into one hundred parts or shares for appropriation by the Governor and others as specified in the Court's letter referred to above (153).

(149) *Ibid*, para. 90.

(150) The italics are ours.

(151) See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 20th November, 1767, para. 105.

(152) See *ibid*, paras. 106-108.

(153) Shares were ordered to be distributed as follows :—

The Governor	...	...	...	...	Thirty-one shares.
The Second Member of the Council	...	...	...	...	Four shares and a half.
The remaining members of the Select Committee not having a Chiefship	...	...	...	...	each, three shares and a half.
The remaining members of the Council, not having a Chiefship	...	...	...	...	each, one share and a half.

The Court also directed that "the beforementioned Commission of Two and an half P Cent" should "commence from the 1st Day of September 1767"(154). But as it had previously ordered that the allowance granted to the Governor

(The Chiefs of Cossimbazar, Patna, Dacca, and Chittagong were not to have any share in the Commission).

The Resident at the Durbar ... .. Four shares and a half.

(He was not to have any share in any other capacity, say, as a member of the Council or the Select Committee).

As shown below, the Company's military officers were not ignored:—

The Commander-in-Chief ... .. Seven shares and a half.

(He was not to have any share in any other capacity, i.e., as a member of the Council or the Select Committee).

The Colonels ... .. each, two shares and a half.

Lieutenant Colonels ... .. each, one share and a half.

Majors ... .. each, three quarters of a share.

(Besides, the Court directed that the following classes of military servants should receive, over and above their "established Pay", the allowances stated against them, "by way of Donation or Gratuity only":—

A Captain ... .. Three shillings a day.

A Lieutenant ... .. Two shillings a day.

An Ensign ... .. One shilling a day.

(Double Batta was not to be restored to any military officer whatsoever).

Finally, as the Court expected that a considerable sum out of the commission of two and a half per cent would, even after the above-mentioned distribution of shares, remain unappropriated, it ordered that this surplus amount should be carried to the Company's credit under the head of "unappropriated commission", until the President and Council should receive further orders from the Court concerning the disposal thereof.

—See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 20th November, 1767.

The Court ordered a new distribution of the Commission of 2½ per cent of the Company's net territorial revenues by its General Letter to Bengal of 23rd March, 1770. Briefly speaking, it directed that from the receipt of this letter one-eighteenth part should be first drawn from the said Commission and paid as separate share to Major General Coote, Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's Forces in the East Indies; and that the sum which would remain after such reduction, should be divided into one hundred shares for distribution in the following manner:—

The Governor ... .. 31 shares.

The Second Member of Council ... .. 4½ shares.

Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker ... .. 5½ shares.

Seven members of Council, each ... .. 2 shares.

The Colonels ... .. 5 shares to be equally divided amongst them.

Lieutenant Colonels ... .. 8½ shares to be equally divided amongst them.

Majors ... .. 5¼ shares to be equally divided amongst them.

The Court, further, directed that the whole of the unappropriated shares together with what might be added thereto as a result of the death or resignation of Major General Coote, was to be given away as allowances to Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns, over and above their pay, as previously ordered by it in its letter of 20th November, 1767 (see above).

—See the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 23rd March, 1770.

(154) Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated 20th November, 1767, para. 118.

of "One and one eighth P Cent on the Duannee Revenues" must cease on that day, it further laid down (155):—

"That from the said 1st Day of September last (i.e., 1767) to the time of the arrival of these Advices, an allowance of one and one eighth P Cent on the Company's nett Territorial Revenues be made to the Governor, and that then the sum arising from the remaining one and three eighths P Cent (which compleats the Two and an half P Cent Commission) be proportioned among our principal servants civil and military pro-rata according to the respective shares allotted them by our present appointment (156) and you (i.e., the President and Council) are to take notice that *from and after your receiving these dispatches* (157), the amount of the two and a half P Cent Commission is to be appropriated in the manner before directed" (158).

(155) See the *ibid.*

(156) We may, without going into details, give below some figures illustrating the amounts of the Commission received under these directions by some of the servants of the Company entitled thereto :—

The total distributable commission during the year from 1st September, 1767, to 31st August, 1768, was current rupees 5,62,175-2-9—Cr. Rs. 4,75,398-5-9 being the Commission on the net revenue of Cr. Rs. 19,01,59,34-8-9 for 9 months from 1st September, 1767 to 31st May, 1768, and Cr. Rs. 86,776-13-0 being the Commission on the net revenue of Cr. Rs. 34,71,072-12-0 for 3 months from 1st June to 31st August, 1768.

Cr. Rs. 2,13,929-4-3 being  $1\frac{1}{8}$  per cent of the net revenue for 9 months was the Governor's share in the commission during the same period.

Cr. Rs. 2,61,469-1-6 being  $1\frac{3}{8}$  per cent of the net revenue for the same period, was proportioned *pro rata* among civil and military servants as directed.

And Cr. Rs. 86,776-13-0 being the total Commission for the last three months, was divided into 100 parts and appropriated among civil and military servants as directed.

The result was :

Mr. H. Verelst received, as Governor, a total Commission of Cr. Rs. 2,40,830-1-3 for the year from 1st September 1767, to 31st August, 1768—Rs. 2,13,929-4-3 as  $1\frac{1}{8}$  per cent of the net revenue for 9 months from 1st September, 1767, and Rs. 26,900-13-0 as  $31/100$  parts of the Commission for the next three months.

Mr. John Cartier, Second Member of Council, received for his  $4\frac{1}{2}$  shares Cr. Rs. 27095-2-3—Rs. 23190-3-0 for the first nine months and Rs. 3904-15-3 for the next three months as shown above.

Mr. Francis Sykes, Resident at the Durbar, received in the same manner as Mr. Cartier, Cr. Rs. 27095-2-3, during the year.

Mr. Richard Bechar, a Member of Select Committee, received for his  $3\frac{1}{2}$  shares a total Commission of Cr. Rs. 21,074-1-10 Rs. 18,036-14-10 for the first nine months and Rs. 3,037-3-0 for the next three months.

Mr. James Alexander, a Member of Council, received for his  $1\frac{1}{2}$  shares a total commission of Cr. Rs. 9,031-11-11—Rs. 7,730-1-6 for the first nine months and Rs. 1,301-10-5 for the next three months.

Etc.

Etc.

—Vide Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy, House of Commons, 1773, App. 34(A).

(157) The italics are ours.

(158) We may give here some illustrative figures showing the amounts of the Commission

It should also be noted in this connexion that in its Instructions (159) of 15th September, 1769, to the Special Commissioners to whom reference has already been made, the Court of Directors enjoined them to enquire into such abuses as had been "committed or Practised, in carrying on and continuing an exclusive Trade in the articles of Salt, Beetle Nut, and Tobacco, contrary" to its "express Directions and orders", and directed them also to enquire into the reasons as to why such orders had been disobeyed or neglected. Strangely enough, it declared at the same time its intention that "those Trades" should be "*laid open to all Persons, as well Natives as Europeans*" (160), but on the condition that the English subjects should be "permitted to trade therein, only upon the same footing, and under the same Duties and Restrictions as Natives, or other subjects" did. Moreover, the Court asked them to "take particular care, that these Duties or Regulations" were not evaded, "under pretence of any Respect due unto, or the Influence of the English Flag". "It excites our utmost Indignation to find", it added (161), "that great Fortunes have been acquired by Persons in our service, in Trade carried on in direct opposition to our express Injunctions and commands ; and as we cannot too severely punish such contumacious Practices, we desire you will endeavour to discover the principal actors and abettors in these acts of disobedience ; and upon due proof, that you will not only dismiss them from our service, but that you will take all legal Measures to obtain satisfaction to the Company in the Courts of Justice in India ; and in cases where the Evidence may not be found sufficient, or effectual, to procure Redress and satisfaction, by the strict Rules of Law

received, under this direction, by different categories of civil and military servants entitled thereto, for six months from 1st March to 31st August, 1769 :—

Name.	Designation.	Number of shares.	Current Rupees.
Harry Verelst ... ..	Governor ... ..	31	97,328 11 2
John Cartier ... ..	Second in Council ... ..	4½	14,128 5 9
Brigadier General ... ..	Commander-in-Chief & Third in Council ... ..	7½	23,547 4 3
Richard Smith ... ..	Resident at the Durbar ... ..	4½	14,128 5 9
Richard Becher ... ..	Member of Select Committee ... ..	3½	10,988 11 7
James Alexander ... ..	Member of Council ... ..	1½	4,709 7 3
Claud Russell ... ..	"Superintendent of the Behar Province" & Chief of Patna ... ..	2½	7,849 1 5
Thomas Rumbold ... ..	Colonel ... ..	2½	7,849 1 5
Sir Robert Barker ... ..	Lieutenant Colonel ... ..	1½	4,709 7 3
Alexander Champion ... ..	Major ... ..	¾	2,354 11 7
Christian Fischer ... ..	Surgeon ... ..	¾	2,354 11 7
John Taylor ... ..	Surgeon Major ... ..	¾	2,354 11 7
Andrew Williams ... ..	Etc.	Etc.	Etc.

—*Vide Further Report from the Committee of Secrecy, House of Commons, 1773, App. 34(C).*

(159) See the Court's Instructions to the Special Commissioners dated 15th September, 1769, relating to the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, para. 27.

(160) The italics are ours.

(161) See the Court's Instructions to the Special Commissioners, dated 15th September, 1769, relating to the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, para. 27.

there, that you will transmit to us the fullest, and most explicit proofs of the Facts, which you are capable of obtaining".

As may have been noticed, the Court, curiously enough, modified in these instructions its previous directions regarding the inland trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco, by throwing it open, subject, however, to a condition, "to all Persons, *as well Natives as Europeans*" (162).

It may be mentioned here that, meanwhile, at its meeting held at Fort William on 29th December, 1767, the Select Committee had directed the following Regulations (163) to be communicated to the Nawab's Government for circulation by his Ministers "to the zemindars and officers of the Government":—

1. "That they (164) are to suffer no Gomastahs whatever to reside in the Districts within their Jurisdiction but such as are empowered by having Perwannahs from the Governor".

2. "That no Gomastahs are to buy or sell but such articles as are specified in their Perwannahs, and those with the consent and free will of the Ryotts, and by no Means to use Force or compulsion in the prosecution of their Business. That in case any Gomastah do buy or sell of such articles as are not specified in their Perwannahs, or do collect grain or other necessaries of Life to sell again on the spot, or any ways oppress or illuse the Ryotts—the officers of the Government are required to exert their Authority to suppress such Abuses, and in case of any Disobedience or non-compliance on the part of the Gomastahs, they are to represent the same to the Ministers, who will cause exemplary Punishment to be inflicted".

3. "That the Trade in Salt, Betelnut and Tobacco is in future to be carried on by such Merchants only as (are) Natives of the Country, and as a stated Duty will be collected on those articles before a Rowaunah (165) is granted for their proceeding from the Place of the Purchase, no further collections, whether of Mongon (166) or other customs are to be made thereon, in order that from the sale of the Merchants Goods to the Consumption of the Poor, there may be no cause of Enhancement in the Price . . . ."

4. "That the English, French, Dutch and other Foreigners are by the Nazim forbidden to traffic in Salt, Beetlenut and Tobacco. They are also forbidden to trade in Grain and other Articles essential for the immediate necessaries of Life, except for the Consumption of the Inhabitants residing

(162) The italics are ours.

(163) The Select Committee had substituted these Regulations for those which the Nawab's Ministers had previously circulated among the zemindars and officers of his Government at the instance of Mr. Francis Sykes, Resident at the Durbar, and a copy of which Mr. Sykes, had transmitted to it, together with his letter to it, of 25th November, 1767.—See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 29th November and 29th December, 1767, and 12th January, 1768.

(164) I.e., the zemindars and officers of the Government.

(165) A passport or permit from the Collector of the customs.

(166) A cess or tax levied by officers of Chokeys and ghats as perquisites for themselves and Zemindars.

in their Settlements under their Protection—The Intention of the Nizamut respecting the licensed Trade of the English French, and Dutch Companies are relative only to Cotton, Silk and such other goods as are exported from this Country to foreign Ports. That whenever any Gomastahs taking the names of the English French & Dutch Companies do carry on Trade in unlicensed Articles, it is the duty of the officers of the Government to seize and send them to the City: but that whilst their People carry on such Business only as is allowed of, and has of old been customary, behaving themselves peaceably & quietly & without oppression towards the Ryotts, their commerce is to be supported & no Impediment thrown in their way”.

5. “That as the Freedom & Circulation of Trade are the means of giving Bread to the industrious Inhabitant; the Manufactories (sic) of Cloth & Silk, The Employment of the Poor; and the sale of their Grain & the Product of their Lands enable the Ryotts to pay their Rents & support their Families: it is proper that the office(rs) of the Govt. do afford every necessary encouragement & protection as well to the Merchants & Traders of the Country, as to such Gomastahs who are furnished with Perwaunahs, under the above Restrictions, and Carry on their Trade with the consent & Free will of the Ryotts and that whosoever of the aumills & zemindars is found deficient therein, they will be made answerable for it in the severest manner”.

6. “That no European Nation shall be permitted to establish new European to go into the Country and carry on a Traffic without express permission of the Government under Pain of Confiscation of all such Goods as he may be thus trafficking”.

7. “That it being the Desire of the Nazim (167), to prefer before all things the good Order & well governing of these Provinces, these Regulations

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(167) It may be interesting to note here that the corresponding Regulation circulated by the Nawab's Ministers to the zemindars and officers of his Government, had said:

“That it being the Desire of the Nazim and the English Company to prefer, etc. . . .”

The Select Committee deleted however the words “the English Company”, and wrote to Mr. Francis Sykes, Resident at the Durbar, on 29th December, 1767, in justification of its action:—

“We are sorry to observe, that in those Regulations you have made the Hon'ble Company Coadjutors to the Government whereas it has ever been our Intention to acknowledge the latter as Principals, and to content ourselves with enjoying our Privileges under them, in like manner with the other European Nations trading in Bengal. This we now repeat and desire that you do by no means in future make the Company appear as a Principal in any Measure or Act of Parliament”.—See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 29th November and 29th December, 1767.

In a letter dated at Moidapore (Moorshedabad) 9th January, 1768, Mr. Sykes wrote to the Select Committee in reply that he was sorry to find that the Regulations he had recommended to the Ministers had not met with its entire approbation. “My Intention”, he further said, “in adding therein the Name of the Company to that of the Nazim, arose from a Desire of pointing out to the Natives and Inhabitants of the country, in the strongest manner possible, the high obligations which they lay under to our Honble Employers; and to convince them, that the English Company in depriving their own servants and the Europeans dependent on themselves, of all share of the Benefits of the Inland Trade, had in view to prefer before every other consideration, the Welfare and Happiness of the People of these Provinces”. In regard to the position of the Nawab, he said, “I have on every

are established in order that the Poor may be relieved from oppression & Vexation & the Merchants enabled to carry on their Trade with Freedom which are the means of wealth to the Country & Benefits to its Inhabitants—It is therefore required, that the strictest obedience be paid to this Perwannah, and that it be registered in the public Cutcherry, and circulated to all the lesser Aumills & Zemindars, that whenever any Disputes or Disturbances shall happen with Gomastahs or others, recourse (sic) may be had hereto, Decision given accordingly”.

We have given above a brief account of what is known as the Salt Society, or the Society or the Committee of Trade, in so far as it was connected with the question of the Company's civil servants. There has been a good deal of controversy over the question whether such a Society should have been at all established even in their interest. We have stated the arguments that were urged in favour of the institution as well as those urged against it. We have seen the attitude of the Court of Directors towards it. William Bolts (168) characterised the monopoly established by the Society as “the most cruel in its nature, and most destructive, in its consequences, to the Company's affairs in Bengal, of all that have of late been established there”. On the other hand we have seen the views of those like Lord Clive and Mr. Sumner, who originated the Society. The controversy was inevitable, regard being had to the position and the political influence of the Company in Bengal, specially after its acquisition of the Diwani. The question was also raised in Parliament, and Clive, while defending the institution in the House of Commons, said, among other things, on March 30th, 1772 (169):

“The Select Committee established their plan upon experience and a thorough knowledge of the Company's interest: and the conduct of the Court of Directors, in abolishing it was founded upon obstinacy and ignorance”.

Again (170):

“I have said before, that the directors disapproved of the trade in salt, betlenut, and tobacco carried on by the servants, from the first moment that

occasion been as attentive as possible to the point you recommended of acknowledging the nabob as principal in the Government, and have always avoided interfering in any public act except where the Revenues were concerned, in which, I conceive, the Company as Dewan to the King have a right to interfere, as also, that it is extremely necessary they should, for the proper Application thereof, and to prevent the Dissipation of the public wealth and an entire Misapplication from its proper channel. The Regulations with the Amendments you have made, I shall recommend to the Ministers in compliance with your Directions to be substituted in lieu of those already circulated”.—See Proceedings, Select Committee, Fort William, 12th January, 1768.

(168) See his *Considerations on India Affairs*, 1772, p. 164.

He also stated: “Perhaps it stands unparalleled (sic) in the history of any government that ever existed on earth, considered as a public act; and we shall be not less astonished when we consider the men who prompted it, and the reasons given by them for the establishment of such exclusive dealings in what may there be considered as necessities of life”.—See *ibid.*

(169) See Clive's speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772, in the *Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the year 1803*, Vol. XVII, 1771-74, London (printed by T. C. Hansard, 1813).

(170) *Ibid.*

they became acquainted with it. They positively and repeatedly ordered, that they (*i.e.*, the servants) should have no concern in it, directly or indirectly ; they declared that it was an infringement of the rights of the natives ; that they had *consulted the sages in the law* (171), and that the servants were liable to prosecution for persevering in that illicit trade . . . . They issued orders, that their servants, who acted as sovereigns, should totally relinquish this trade themselves, and endeavour to prevent its being monopolized by any rich overgrown merchant of the country; they meant that it should be laid open to the natives, and to them only, not seeing that their orders could not extend to the servants of foreign Companies, who would of course gain considerably by that trade, of which the English were to be deprived".

Finally, referring to the commission of two and a half per cent alluded to before, Clive observed (172):

"In November, 1767, and not before, the court of directors came to a determination of allowing their servants, in lieu of this trade, two and a half per cent. upon the revenues: they then also, for the first time, thought of establishing a duty upon salt; they proposed fixing it so that it should produce to the Company 31,000 l. per annum. At this time I was in England, I heard accidentally what was in agitation. I expostulated with the court of directors by letter (173); I represented to them that they were doing the most manifest injury to the Company; that if those advantages which the Select Committee had proposed for the servant; were disapproved of, they ought to be enjoyed by the Company: that those advantages and the duties together would amount to 3,00,000 l per annum, which I thought no inconsiderable object. I farther represented to them, that although they should give the servants two and a half per cent. on the revenues, in lieu of the salt trade, the gentlemen might still trade in that article, under the names of their banyans or black agents, to what extent they pleased". "To these representations", he said in conclusion (174), "they paid no other attention than that of altering the proposed duty from 31000 l to 120000 l per annum. What was the consequence? The servants received the two and a half per cent. on the revenues; they traded in salt as much as before,—but without paying the duty; and I am well informed that the Company, from the time of the abolition of the Committee's plan to this hour, have not received a shilling duty. Finally, the court of directors suffered this branch of trade to revert to the very channel from whence had flowed all the abuses and all the misfortunes which they had so loudly complained of"(175).

There was a note of sarcasm in Clive's remarks; but there was also some force in his arguments. Perhaps he had done in regard to the inland trade in salt, betel nut and tobacco what he had thought wise and right in the

(171) The italics are ours.

(172) See *ibid.*

(173) See Clive's letter to the Court, dated at Bath 14th November, 1767.

(174) See Clive's speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772.

(175) Verelst also has made remarks practically to the same effect.

See his *View of the English Government in Bengal*, p. 121, footnote.



circumstances of the time. The true remedy, however, against the misconduct on the part of the Company's servants had lain in the enhancement of their salaries. As this had not been possible, he and his colleagues had had recourse to the expedient of the Salt Society. In defending his action, Malcolm (176) has said that when Lord Clive reached India, one of the first objects that engaged his attention was the manner in which the public servants should be remunerated. At that time their "direct salaries were very trifling . . . . . The Company was originally strictly a trading Company, and its clerks and servants were paid chiefly by being allowed to trade on their own account. When the Company found it necessary to have troops for the defence of their factories, their military officers were paid in the same way. All were merchants and traders, from the governor, the commandant, and the chaplain, down to the youngest writer and ensign. . . . . Clive was particularly desirous . . . . that the Chief men in the administration of affairs, but especially the Governor, should be withdrawn from trade, and from whatever could warp the freedom of their opinions: it is a subject to which he often reverts in his private correspondence"(177).

But to expect, Malcolm has further said (178), "that the Directors would directly sanction large salaries to their servants from the profits of the Company's trade, or from their territorial revenues, was vain. It was quite at variance with the old maxims by which they were accustomed to regulate their concerns".

There seemed, therefore, according to Malcolm (179), no alternative "but either to let things proceed in the ruinous course in which they now were, to enforce the covenants (regarding the acceptance of presents), and enter, unaided, on a hopeless struggle between private interest and public duty ; or to find means, from such resources of the country as were not yet claimed by the Company, to pay the superior servants in an adequate and ample manner ; and this last he resolved to attempt".

Granting all these to have been true, we do not find, however, any adequate justification for the remarks which Clive made in the House of Commons against what the Court of Directors had done in regard to the question of the Salt Society. The reason is that, on a very careful consideration of all the papers connected with the question of the participation by the Company's servants in the inland trade of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa—and in particular with the question of the Salt Society instituted in 1765, we feel that the attitude taken by the Court towards it was, on the whole, throughout marked by justice, humanity and statesmanship, befitting a virtually ruling authority. Besides, it was quite in consonance with a fundamental principle of public administration, namely, that rulers should not be permitted to carry on, in their own interest, any business, specially of a, more or less, monopolistic character, for this would inevitably lead to corruption and, ultimately, to

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(176) Malcolm, *The Life of Robert, Lord Clive*, Vol. III.

(177) See *ibid.*

(178) *Ibid.*

(179) *Ibid.*

oppression, against which there would be no remedy. The great mistake of the Court was that it did not consider it necessary to increase the salaries of its servants with the accession of its territorial revenues. That it was prepared to, and actually did, sacrifice its revenues to some extent, for the sake of what it thought to be just, is an additional proof of its sincerity of purpose. The action of Clive and his colleagues may have been expedient in the circumstances of their times, but that of the Court of Directors was certainly inspired by a sense of fairplay and equity.

Clive said (180) in the House of Commons: "The servants received the two and a half per cent. on the revenues; they traded in salt as much as before—but without paying the duty". If it had been so, it had been very unfortunate. It had only betrayed their cupidity, indiscipline, and unscrupulousness. That to prevent this one wrong the Court should have permitted the continuance of another wrong, would not have been fair. As a matter of fact, Clive himself admitted (181) in the course of the speech from which we have given the above extracts: "Upon the inland trade depends in some degree the receipt of the revenues. Upon the inland trade depend almost totally the happiness and prosperity of the people. Indeed the true cause of the distress in Bengal, as far as it relates to the inland trade, is this. The Company's servants and their agents have taken into their own hands the whole of that trade, which they have carried on in a capacity before unknown; for they have traded not only as merchants, but as sovereigns, and by grasping at the whole of the inland trade, *have taken the bread out of the mouths of thousands and thousands of merchants, who used formerly to carry on that trade, and who are now reduced to beggary*" (182).

In view of this, the action of the Court of Directors was amply justified.

#### COMPANY'S SERVANTS & THEIR BANYANS.

We have said above many things regarding the conduct of the Company's servants in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. There is no doubt about the fact that they often abused their privileged position and oppressed the people of these provinces. But we consider it fair to add that they were also often tempted by their Indian agents or Banyans to do things which they should not have done. This certainly does not justify their various acts of oppression or their direct, or indirect, misuse of their power or their political influence, but it does, to some extent, explain or even, perhaps, palliate them. Clive made this clear in the course of his speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772, from which we have already quoted several extracts. There might be an element of exaggeration in what he stated in this connexion; but there is no reason to believe that what he said was not substantially true. He gave an interesting analogy. "The passion for gain", he said (183), "is as strong as

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(180) See Clive's speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772, already referred to.

(181) See the *ibid*.

(182) The italics are ours.

(183) See his speech in the House of Commons on 30th March, 1772.

the passion of love. I will suppose that two intimate friends have lived long together ; that one of them has married a beautiful woman ; that the friend still continues to live in the house, and that this beautiful woman, forgetting her duty to her husband, attempts to seduce the friend ; who, though in the vigour of youth, may, from a high principle of honour, at first, resist the temptation, and even rebuke the lady. But if he still continues to live under the same roof, and she still continues to throw out her allurements, he must be seduced at last or fly." "Now the banyan", Clive continued, "is the fair lady to the Company's servant. He lays his bags of silver before him today ; gold tomorrow ; jewels the next day ; and if these fail, he then tempts him in the way of his profession, which is trade. He assures him that goods may be had cheap, and sold to great advantage up the country. In this manner is the attack carried on ; and the Company's servant has no resource, for he cannot fly. In short, flesh and blood cannot bear it".

He then referred to the type of men who would come out to India in those days as writers. "Let us for a moment", he said (184), "consider the nature of the education of a young man who goes to India. The advantages arising from the Company's service are now very generally known ; and the great object of every man is to get his son appointed a writer to Bengal ; which is usually at the age of 16. His parents and relations represent to him how certain he is of making a fortune ; that my lord such a one, and my lord such a one, acquired so much money in such a time ; and Mr. Such a one, and Mr Such a one, so much in such a time. Thus are their principles corrupted at their very setting out, and as they generally go a good many together, they inflame one another's expectations to such a degree, in the course of the voyage, that they fix upon a period for their return before their arrival".

He next described the Indian career of an average writer after his arrival in Bengal. "Let us now", continued Clive (185), "take a view of one of these writers arrived in Bengal, and not worth a groat. As soon as he lands, a banyan, worth perhaps £100,000 desires he may have the honour of serving this young gentleman, at 4s. 6d. per month. The Company has provided chambers for him, but they are not good enough ;—the banyan finds better. The young man takes a walk about the town, he observes that other writers, arrived only a year before him, live in splendid apartment or have houses of their own, ride upon fine prancing Arabian horses, and in palanqueens and chaises ; that they keep seraglios, make entertainments, and treat with champagne and claret. When he returns, he tells the banyan what he has observed. The banyan assure him he may soon arrive at the same good fortune ; he furnishes him with money ; he (*i.e.*, the writer) is then at his mercy. The advantages of the banyan advance with the rank of his master, who in acquiring one fortune generally spends three. But this is not the worst of it : he is in a state of dependence under the banyan, who commits such acts of violence and oppression, as his interest prompts him to, under

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(184) See *ibid.*

(185) See *ibid.*

the pretended sanction and authority of the Company's servant. Hence, Sir, arises the clamour against the English gentlemen in India''.

This is how, according to Clive, the inherent passion for acquisition in man, was often inflamed, in the case of writers, by temptations placed in their way by their Indian agents and Banyans, and they fell easy victims to those temptations. The result was that the people of this country did, as we have seen, enormously suffer.

(Concluded).

D. N. BANERJEE.

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## Cadets.

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SOME time ago I gave two broadcast talks on the subject of Cadets—those boys who, a century and more ago served in the East India Company's Army, enjoying, or enduring, what has been aptly termed—the splendid misery of life in a red coat.

The matter has been taken from many sources. It has been said that the Biblical character who has since had the largest following is ANANIAS. Luckily as this subject is not concerned with politics, neither is it an appeal for charity, there is no need for me to invoke the spirit of that notorious character. I will admit that truth is stranger than fiction—it is to most people—but I believe there is little exaggeration in the records I have been able to collect.

One cannot help being filled with wondering admiration for these indomitable young heroes who left home more or less friendless, who roughed it for months on the voyage out, and were neglected, or sharked, or both on arrival in India, yet, in the main, quitted themselves like men.

What fine courage they must have had to start out with little or no concern about the small chances of ever seeing their homes again! India, to them, was no Promised Land. Inexperienced as they were, that was none of their illusions, but, full of courage :—

“With the boys’ soft down upon their cheeks,  
They marched to fight, as others run to play,  
Like gay squires, their knightly spurs to win.”

Of the hundreds of cadets who, year after year, went to India in the service of the East India Company, only an exceptional few were moved by any impulse of their own to soldier in India. The choice was commonly made for them.

Some adventurous spirits may have been attracted by the prospect of service in India, but most of the youngsters were superfluous boys with no career open to them, and were got rid of by being sent abroad to shift for themselves, and, as someone put it, their lives were as insecure as an egg balanced on the point of a pin on a windy day.

Macaulay, writing about Warren Hastings, said—“Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to anybody.”

That certainly was true so far as any interest that appeared to be taken in the welfare of the boys who came out to serve in the Army 150 and more years ago. All are not soldiers who go to the wars, but these boys were never anything else. No sooner were they out of their mother's arms than they were sent under arms in the field.

English people have always looked askance at the profession of arms, and in the days before the Great War were much of the opinion expressed 1,200 years ago, by the Chinese philosopher, Tou Fou.—“To raise a daughter in order that she may marry a soldier, it were better, at her birth, to cast her into the road.”

Even those who did not consider soldiering to be beneath their acceptance, or those who might hesitate to admit how inconvenient it would be to their feelings, it was not from the pure spirit of benevolence that they sent their young relatives to serve in the East Indies. With some foundation, India was believed to be the white man's grave, or, if the climate was not fatal, they were generally found to be of little use for anything were they lucky enough to return to their native land.

To start life by leaving home before they were in their teens was a rough beginning. The schooling was hard. If it turned out all right it was the finest in the world. If it didn't, well, make or break, there was no money returned at the door.

To many who came out indifferent about the future, or if they were full of hope, life meant little more than a day's march nearer death. But they learnt to elbow their way through the world and to know it didn't pay to accept rebuffs too quietly, so they grew up self-reliant and hardy. Still more they developed personality and learnt how to manage men and the ability to do that is a greater gift than the ability to paint a picture or play the violin. Being used to the least of everything in the way of comfort, they believed that life should be lived in its present moments, and expected what they received—sympathy from nobody.

Cadets were given a copy of the Articles of War on leaving Home. They were required to sign a declaration on arrival in India that they had “frequently” and “attentively” read them on the way out. If a Cadet failed to do that he was not entitled to pay, neither was he considered to be on the strength.

Although an order was issued that “no cadet or other person going out in the Company's service should be suffered to leave England until he was instructed in the rudiments of the Hindostanee language,” it was not obeyed. Even doctors came to work among Indian troops without knowledge of their language, but as their ignorance of their profession was about up to the same standard, it probably left matters very much as they were.

The East India Company which started in trade and ended in Empire, did all it could to stop any of their fellow countrymen coming to India unless covenanted to themselves. This compelled them to engage practically every-

body. Writers, Cadets, Surgeons, Sailors, Padres, Pilots, Engineers, Veterinary Surgeons, Organists and others. The first two avenues, civil and military were the most sought after. Boys of good family were placed in positions where they might do well were they lucky enough to survive. Others in the hope of making a career for themselves, enlisted in the ranks, where they had, at one time, opportunities for securing good appointments. The service attracted a better class of men than joined the King's army, and, to some extent, was a near approach to the French Foreign Legion.

It was a common practice for professional men, lawyers, doctors, artists, and others, to enlist in the Company's forces in the hope of finding employment outside the army. Professional men were scattered all over the country. Hooghly pilots had numbers of absentees or deserters from the Company's troops among them and when an order came out stopping extra-regimental employment and insisting that these men rejoined their units, so many men turned up there was no room for them in barracks.

The practice was not altogether confined to the rank and file. Lads of good family obtained cadetships so as to save the fare out, and then looked for something better when they landed.

An official letter dated March 25th. 1772 states—

"The reason assigned by Messrs. Scott, Imhoff, and Dupuy for declining to accept their commissions, is sufficient proof that they have been found guilty of an artful and deliberate design to impose upon the Company. And although their application was prior to your receipt of our orders of 23rd March 1770 to send home such cadets as should not conform to a military life, yet our sense of the conduct of such persons was too fully expressed for you to be justified in permitting them to remain in India—it was reasonable to you to suppose you would immediately have informed Messrs. Scott, Imhoff, and Dupuy of our pleasure respecting cadets, after you had received our commands, and if they had then hesitated to fulfil their engagements to the Company, you ought to have sent them home forthwith—and as we are determined totally to discountenance and prevent this practice, we do hereby direct, that if Messrs. Imhoff and Dupuy do still refuse to serve in the Military that you send them home by the first ship from your Presidency for Europe, and if Mr. Imhoff should have proceeded to Bengal you are to send a copy of their own order to the Governor and Council of this Presidency, who are in such case to conform to our commands above signified."

Compared with the present school-leaving age, the youth of those who then went out to fight, strikes a pathetic note. Still more worthy of notice is the fact that they seemed to be able to take a grown man's full dose of liquor. Most of those who took to print complained about the pungency of the language used by their comrades. Well, the soldier's life is a hard one and language often cannot express the word for their feelings even when they try hard. Bad language has had its day, although the army is the place "where strong men greet the morn with scores of very striking metaphors."

In those days Cadets for the Indian army were generally bundled off at short notice. They were placed in the worst part of the ship where they swung their hammocks, and roughed it throughout a long voyage rendered endurable only by the occasional excitement of a pirate, a shark, a storm or a funeral.

"George Elers tells us that he and ten others shared a cabin twelve foot square, four of them in slung hammocks, and seven in standing cots. He adds that when the soldier servants came to call their respective officers in the morning, the cabin was quite overcrowded—and we can well believe it." —"Light & Shade in Bygone India." by Lt.-Col. L. H. Thornton, C.M.G., D.S.O.

One officer describing his feelings on arriving in India wrote—"The Children of Israel when released from their Babylonish captivity could not have welcomed the happy hour of their deliverance with more exquisite joy than I felt when we anchored."

Cadets were neglected to a degree which seems incredible. When they landed in Calcutta after coming up by boat from Saugor, there was nobody to meet them. They went into punch houses or other low haunts, reporting themselves a few days later. They were children—nobody's children and after six or more months at sea, they ran wild. Some of them had so much go about them they were gone in no time.

Once posted to a regiment they were taught to feel that the Art of War was a real business for Brahmins. Many of the Indian regiments were exceedingly well run and discipline was of a high order. It was Froude who said, "In schools and colleges, fleet and army, discipline means success and anarchy means ruin." Discipline does more good than all the arts ; it saved most of these lads from going right to the devil ; and when rightly enforced, cultivates obedience, which is the soul of the soldier.

The education of the young lads though scanty, placed them far above the rank and file. Perhaps it was not so scanty after all. In those days few children were spoilt because the rod was spared. Learning and caning went together, and the young, who, if left to themselves would not care how little education they had for their father's money, had to take learning seriously. But it can be assumed that few of them, in their thirst for knowledge, developed water on the brain, or were ever in any danger through possessing too much of it.

Many of them, judging by their writings, learnt that infinite toleration which accepts without question the various phases of Indian idiosyncrasies, graduating in a university in which scholars never take a degree ; they were on good terms with the people, growing up in their midst while looking upon India as their home. The history of the British in India speaks for itself. It is *their* record.

Some of these lads were made of the finest stuff in humanity.



"Ensign Alan, with a company of sepoy, during the War in the Carnatic—circa 1780—was sent to assume command of the fortress of Warriapollam, situated some sixty miles south-west of Cuddalore. This young officer was but seventeen years of age, but he had a resolution and resource remarkable in one of his years. The fortress was commanded by a European in the service of Mohammed Ali, the Nawab of Arcot. On the arrival of Ensign Alan, this individual cheerfully handed over the command, as well he might, for his garrison was in open mutiny, not having received from their worthless master any pay for nigh on two years. Ensign Alan grasped the nettle at once, and not only quelled the mutiny but by force of character won over the garrison to his side. With their help he repaired the ramshackle defences, and over a period of six months repelled attack after attack, and finally, he withdrew with all his men in safety to Tanjore. It is sad to think that the poor boy succumbed before the end of the war, his labours having proved more arduous than one so young could be expected to endure."—Colonel Thornton's *"Light and Shade in Bygone India"*, p. 86.

Cadets were not promoted to Ensigns until they had educated themselves. In many instances they served as private soldiers in what was called the "Cadets' Company," or carried their muskets in the ranks, attended all drills, and took their guards in common with the privates of the regiment.

When applying for leave on account of ill health, a year's notice of the intention to quit India had to be given. Leave to Europe was not permitted. A Cadet took service for life. If he fell sick, or some other cause necessitated his leaving the country, he was deprived of his commission.

In the early days duties were not hard. In 1650 an order was issued that "The Commission officers shall not fail to drill or exercise their Company once a weeke, or at least once a fortnight, upon ye penalty of forfeiting one month's pay to the use of the poore for every such neglect."

In these days of loudly protested benevolence, when it is easy to fly like an eagle and to talk like lightning, and the law protects the man who thinks like a pig and acts like a bandit, the metallic maxim—every man for himself, seems somewhat out of place. This is what Midshipman Easy, starting out on board ship and claiming equality was told by a boy a little older than himself.—

"You are on an equality as far as this—that you have an equal right to the berth, if you are not knocked out of it for insolence to your masters ; that you have an equal share to pay for the things purchased for the mess, and an equal right to have your share, provided you can get it ; you have an equal right to talk, provided you are not told to hold you tongue. The fact is, you have an equal right with everyone else to do as you can, always provided that you can do it, for here, the weakest goes to the wall, and that is all the equality you can expect."

This looks if the wise took life as God made it, learnt to tolerate the intolerable, and asked no questions.

We are told that "The Bombay army are generally designated "*Ducks*," perhaps from their Presidency being situated on a small island. The Bengalees are denominated "*Qui hies*," from a habit of exclaiming "*koey he?*" "*who is there?*" to their domestics, when requiring their attendance ; and the Madrasees are designated by the appellation of "*Mulls*," from the circumstance of always using a kind of hot soup, ycleped Mulligatawny, literally pepper water, at their meals, particularly supper."—"Colonel James Welsh of the Madras Establishment Military Reminiscences extracted from a Journal of nearly Forty Years' Active Service in the East Indies," Vol. 1, p. 29.

"The Cadet" by an Officer, published in 1756, has a chapter on the "Behaviour of Officers in Private Life," in which regrets are expressed for the manner in which most of them "pass their time with indifferent Company at the Coffee-House or Billiard-Table," instead of in study. "The greatest Generals," the Officer informs us, "ow'd their high Renown not so much to achievements perform'd in War, as to their intimate acquaintance with the Muses." Well, if those ladies had good voices it was worth while, but most of these writers seem to forget that if everybody wanted good company there wouldn't be enough of it to go round. Unfortunately, too, the best of good company is often the worst.

Other hints were to be "Modest without Bashfulness, frank and affable without Impertinence, and cheerful without Noise." Debauchery was to be avoided as "of what employment is the Debauchee capable?" Other things to be shunned are Excessive Drinking which may cause an Uproar or Tumult," and "that infamous, destructive, nodish *Vice of Gaming*." As to demeanour he should be careful not to show a "Waspyish and Quarrelsome Disposition" and should refrain from "telling Stories not always consistent with the Truth." Moreover, he should keep a Journal because, were every officer to do so, "they would not give us such lame accounts of the Campaigns, nor should we be indebted to the false Descriptions of Paltry News-writers."—"Warriors in Undress" by Mr. F. J. Hudleston Librarian of the War Office.

Young as many of these lads were they did not always behave as they ought, for on January 23rd. 1759 it was reported that—

"Robert Boulton who went to Bengal as a Cadet of Ship Walpole, having as we are well-informed behaved in a very extraordinary manner, we direct he be sent to England by the first ship dispatched from your Settlement as one of the Quarter party passengers."

There is the classic story of a mite of a midshipman, little used to polite society, who happened to dance with the wife of an exalted personage in Madras, and broke an otherwise impenetrable silence by remarking to his partner:—"Bloody hot, my lady!"

"General Orders by the Governor General in Council, Fort William, 13th. February 1806."

Ordered that the following extract of a general letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors, dated the 11th. September 1805, be published in general orders :—

13. "Mr. Robert Cumming, a cadet for the Infantry on your establishment, and proceeding to his appointment on the *Glory*, having incurred our severe displeasure by persisting to sleep on shore while the ship remained at Falmouth contrary to our express orders, which were signified to him by letter previous to his embarkation, and in direct opposition to repeated verbal and written remonstrances from the commander of the ship ; we have come to the resolution as a mark of our disapprobation at such an early instance of his disobedience of our orders, and as an example to deter others from the like conduct, to deprive Mr. Cumming of that rank which we had assigned him upon the dispatch of that ship from Portsmouth, and which was in the list of the 3rd. class of cadets between Mr. Thomas Frist and Mr. John Cruickshank, and we now direct that you place him next below Mr. George Wilkinson, in the list of rank of the 4th. class of cadets for your presidency." —Sandeman's "Selections from Calcutta Gazette," Vol. IV, page 6 and 7.

"General Orders by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council",  
Fort William, 5th. September 1808.

Ordered, that the following paragraphs of general letters from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, dated 6th. and 8th. April 1808, be published in general orders :—

General letter, dated 6th. April 1808.

Para. 2.—We entirely approve of the suggestions contained in those paragraphs, and have adopted this season the whole of your proposed regulations.

3. We have accordingly transmitted you, a number in the packet, a copy of the terms on which young men are admitted into our military service, and to which we require their assent before we appoint them.

4. The Cadets have likewise delivered to them a copy of the articles of war, and you will observe in the terms alluded to that the cadet is required, upon his arrival in India, to sign a declaration that he has frequently and attentively perused the same during the voyage out, and that in the event of his having neglected to peruse them, he is not to be entitled to his pay, or to be considered on the strength of the army, until he shall send into the Government a written declaration that he has carefully perused the same.

5. We enclose also a copy of the declaration signed by the cadets when they receive their appointment, and we trust the measures now adopted will effectually suppress that spirit of insubordination which has manifested itself among the cadets at the institutions under your presidency, and of which you complain in the paragraphs before us, as none will in future proceed thither without being fully apprized of the nature of their appointment, and the rules and orders to which they are expected to submit ; but if contrary

to our hope and expectation any of the cadets should evince a disposition of insubordination we direct that you exercise the authority with which you are invested, by suspending or dismissing them our service as the case may require, and that you immediately order those who may be dismissed to return to England at their own expense."—Sandeman's "Selections from Calcutta Gazettes," Vol. IV, pp. 54058.

Take two prominent characters—Clive and Warren Hastings. Both, for that period, were comparatively old when they started being turned seventeen. Clive, who landed in 1744 appears to have soon become fed-up. Because he had been extravagant on his salary of Rs. 8/- per month, he made two ineffectual attempts to shoot himself. This took place in Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

In these days we have more time-saving devices and less spare time, it is difficult to imagine how leisurely people then went about. Perhaps life in India was more pleasant when *Kuch-pur-warni* ruled the land.

Clive's ship put into Brazil on the voyage out and stayed there for nine months. During that time he was able to learn Portuguese. As all Company's servants were compelled to pass an examination in that language, he had a flying start. There was another long stay at the Cape, and it was eighteen months from the time he left home until he landed in India. It is worth mentioning that Clive always spoke to his Indian servants in Portuguese; he never knew a sentence in one of the Indian languages.

Other civilians besides Clive cast aside the pen to assume the sword. "In 1784 the Bombay Government writes to the Governor-General and Council thus:—

Messrs Frederick Davy and George Dice writers on this establishment, being, as we are informed, in the military service in your presidency, we request you will have it signified to them that in case they do not repair to their station, we shall consider them as no longer belonging to the establishment, and strike them off the list of Company's servants belonging thereto."

Warren Hastings sailed from Gravesend in the *London* on January 27th. 1750. Eight months to the day, later, they arrived at Fort St. David on the Coromandel Coast. Madras was their next stopping place on September 8th and on October 9th the anchor was dropped at Culpee.

As in those days it often took three weeks to come up the Hooghly, it was customary to come up or go down the river in budgerows, or other country boats. Warren Hastings came up by boat from Culpee being therefore a little more than eight months on the journey from Home.

William Hickey tells us how he was examined in 1768 by a "Committee of Directors to undergo the usual examination as a cadet." . . . . .

"I saw three old Dons sitting close to the fire, having by them a large table, with pens, ink and paper. and a number of books lying upon it.

Having surveyed me, as I conceived, rather contemptuously, one of them in such a snivelling strange tone that I could scarcely understand him, said :

"Well, young gentleman, what is your age?" Having answered "Nineteen" he continued :

"Have you ever served, I mean been in the army? Though I presume from your age and appearance you cannot!"

"Can you go through the manual exercise?"

"No, Sir."

"Then you must take care and learn it."

I bowed.

"You know the terms upon which you enter our service?"

"Yes, Sir."

"Are you satisfied therewith?"

"Yes, Sir."

A clerk who was writing at the table then told me I might withdraw, whereupon I made my *conge* and retired. From the Committee room I went to Mr. Coggan's office, who after making me sit down for near an hour, presented me with my appointment as a cadet, also an order for me to be received and accommodated with a passage to Madras on board the *Plassey*. But another document, wholly unexpected on my part, pleased me much more than either of the others. This was a check upon the paymaster for twenty guineas. Mr. Coggan, seeing my surprize, and that I did not know the meaning of this draft, observed that as it did not fall to the lot of every lad that went to India as a cadet to have friends that could fit him out for the voyage, the Company always supplied with twenty guineas to purchase bedding and other necessaries. As these articles were already provided, I thought I could not dispose of the Honourable Company's donation better than in the society of a few unfortunate females."

Hickey went to Madras but on arrival was told that the prospects in the army were poor so he decided to think about reporting for duty. He therefore took a trip to China and from there went to London where he admits having flaunted in his regimentals as a Madras cadet for several months. According to modern ideas Hickey was a deserter, although that would hardly weigh on his conscience, but the fact that he could act as he did is informative of the slackness of the times.

Hickey must have been a queer character, one who seldom indulged in the expensive luxury of doing good. His story strikes one as being something like the people around him—a little highly coloured, but it may that he merely handled the truth like a lawyer.

We read :—

. . . . . The condition, too, of the young military adventurer has greatly improved during the last half century. We have shown that the pay of a cadet in 1780, was 17½ rupees a month, with free quarters. Sir Thomas Munro, who, had circumstances turned him out of the mould an essayist or novelist, instead of a soldier and a statesman, would have rivalled Addison or

Smollet, describes with inimitable humor, dashed here and there with a touch of sadness, the sufferings and privations to which he was exposed during the first few years of his residence in India. "You may not believe me", he writes, in a serio-comic epistle, which though familiar to many of our readers, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting—"You may not believe me when I tell you, that I never experienced hunger or thirst, fatigue or poverty, until I came to India ; that since then, I have frequently met with the first three and that the last has been my constant companion. If you wish for proofs, here they are—I was three years in India, before I was master of any other pillow than a book or a cartridge pouch ; my bed was a piece of canvass stretched on four cross sticks, whose only ornament was, the great coat that I brought from England which by a lucky invention. I turned into a blanket in the cold weather, by thrusting my legs into the sleeves, and drawing the skirts over my head. In this situation I lay, like Falstaff, in the basket—hilt to point, and very comfortable, I assure you, all but my feet ; for the tailor not having foreseen the various uses to which the piece of dress might be applied, had cut the cloth so short, that I never could, with all my ingenuity, bring both ends under cover ; whatever I gained by drawing up my legs, I lost by exposing my neck ; and generally chose rather to cool my heels than my head . . . . . My dress has not been more splendid than my furniture. I have never been enabled to keep it all of a piece. It grows tattered in one quarter whilst I am establishing funds to repair it in another, and my coat is in danger of losing the sleeves, while I am pulling it off to try on a new waist-coat. . . . .

. . . . . There is nothing like poverty—unless there is both improvidence and misconduct—among the European residents in India. Men are often unfortunate ; but they are very rarely poor. We mean by this, that they are seldom condemned to taste, in all their bitterness, the Marah-waters of poverty. The iron chain does not gall and fret ; the manacles are well waded. One man has a small salary ; he is honest and he pays his debts. There is little of that severe struggling to keep up a decent appearance, which unfortunately, prevails at home. Even this narrow-salaried man, if he be a gentleman, lives like one. He is not attended by a scrubby maid of all work, with red elbows and heel-less shoes, but by half a dozen turbanned fellows in black moustaches and white muslin.—"Calcutta Review", Vol. CXXVIII (1909) pp. 33-35.

Judged by modern standards the times were hard ; but hardship is mostly a matter of comparison. To leave the amenities of life in England today for an existence in places off the line of rail in India is, by comparison, a greater hardship than it was a century or more ago. The gap is greater. So far as comfort goes, England has tremendously advanced while parts of India, in many ways, stand about where they did in the days of Pharaoh.

William Long, who afterwards drifted to India where he commanded a brigade in the Mahratta army, states in his autobiography, "I was initiated into the Royal Navy very early in life, when I was but a boy." Young as

he was, he was present during a naval battle. After that he was promoted to the rank of midshipman. As he was then but ten years old, one cannot help feeling curious about the age he was when he started.

That this was not unusual can be gleaned from Midshipman Easy, who went to sea at the age of fourteen. Captain Marriott writes, "Jack had chosen to enter the Service at a much later period than most lads."

Captain Marryat himself went to sea at the age of fourteen in Lord Cochrane's ship the *Imperieuse* in the year 1806. A few extracts from a private log that he kept in July, 1808, when he was sixteen:—

- July 24th. Taking guns from the batteries.
- „ 25th. Burning bridges and dismantling batteries to impede the French.
- August 1st. Taking the brass guns from the batteries.
- „ 15th. Took a French despatch boat off Cette.
- „ 18th. Took and destroyed a signal post.
- „ 19th. Blew up a signal post.

Before he was seventeen he had been in fifty fights ; times out of number he jumped into the sea and rescued drowning men.

One of Lord Roberts' uncles, Samuel Roberts, "left him home when he was ten years old, and did not see it again, or have a day's leave, for twenty one years. He fought in the wars against Spain and France, was wounded several times, and spent ten months in a Spanish dungeon in conditions so atrocious that only nine out of twenty-two survived the treatment they received. His services were rewarded with a knighthood and the Companionship of the Bath, and he retired to live in Waterford, "a crippled wreck" as he described himself."—"Letters written During the Indian Mutiny", Lord Roberts.

Gerard Lake, afterwards Viscount Lake, (Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswaree) "on May 7, 1758, at the age of thirteen years and nearly ten months was appointed an Ensign in the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards."

Lieutenant-General George Hewett, who was Commander-in-Chief in India from 1807 to 1811 commenced his military career in 1762 at the age of twelve as an ensign in the 70th Foot and spent ten years in the West Indies where he served against the Maroons in Grenada and took part in the suppression of the Carib insurrection in the Island of St. Vincent. He obtained his Company in 1775.

Sir Charles Napier, another Commander-in-Chief in India was but twelve years of age when he obtained his commission. He resigned after a squabble and went about India blackguarding the East India Company which made him a welcome, if feared guest at many public functions.

Thomas Goddard was given a commission in the 24th Foot when he was thirteen years of age. The next year he was promoted to Lieutenant. In January 1759 he transferred to the 84th Foot then being raised by Eyre Coote

for service in Bengal. Sailing for India in April 1759, the 84th landed in Madras and were at the capture of Wandawash, and at the siege and surrender of Pondicherry in November of that year. He was then but fifteen years of age.

But War did not appear to accelerate promotion. Lieutenant Colonel Nathaniel Cumberlege entered the service before the age of fourteen. As peace was declared in 1783 many battalions were disbanded. There were too many officers, so he remained as a Cadet or ensign for six years. At the age of twenty his maximum pay had been Rs. 30/- per month.

Major David Price who joined the ranks but was appointed a cadet before his ship sailed in 1781, served in Madras and landed at Bombay on April 22. 1782 gives some curious details.

"We were glad to escape from the amalgama of savoury smells, arising from the great variety of rancid, oily commodities, heaped together on our way to the Bundar the then residence of the junior civil servants ; and to find ourselves at last securely housed in the Bombay hotel, at this period kept by Mr. Macfarlane. At such a moment I had but loosely calculated the wide disproportion between my cadet's pay, and the double full batta, drawn by my companions of the Bengal establishment. The former, amounting to no more than thirty rupees a month, and the latter to more than four hundred. (*Batta*, a Hindustani word, means an extra allowance which was paid to officers, soldiers, or other public servants, even to prisoners awaiting trial.) It had, however, occurred to me not to remain more than two days, at furthest, in such luxurious and expensive lodgings, and for this I had been provided by the considerate and disinterested liberality of Captain Strover, the Kind-hearted and respectable Commander of the Essex ; who, when we parted in the morning, had pressed into my hand what was exactly the equivalent to the month's pay of a cadet.

"The dinner hour soon arrived ; and as we seated ourselves at the table, the weather of that period of the year being the reverse of cool, we had thrown off our coats and laid them on the backs of our chairs. The bottle was gaily circulated, and I partook, without reflection, of the liquid ruby, at twelve and sixpence the bottle ; claret selling, at the time, at sixty rupees the dozen. When we were about to retire for the night we resumed our upper garments ; and as I had deposited the whole contents of my exchequer in my coat pocket, it occurred to me to examine whether all was safe. To my utter consternation I found "all my treasure gone"—the spoiler not having left me a single rupee. Our vile attendants of the hotel had taken advantage of our thoughtless hilarity and thus barbarously robbed me of all I had in the world." pp. 59-60.

The rank and file started early. John Shipp, who is credited with having written the finest military story ever produced by a private soldier, talks about boys starting to soldier at the age of 9. Two, if not three regiments claim some of the lustre of his glory, the Cheshires, the Duke of Wellington's and the Royal Irish Fusiliers.



For gallantry in the field he won a commission in the 76th Foot. In 1808 he went home, got heavily into debt to the extent of £30 and sold out.

In January 1809 an order was published,—“Resolved that Mr. John Shipp, late of H.M. 76th Hindoostain (sic) Regiment, setting forth his very particular service in India and praying that on account of his Singular Bravery and peculiar circumstances he be appointed a cadet of Infantry on the Bengal Establishment.

This seems to show that cadets might be of any age, from four days to forty years.

All cadets were not boys. George Francis Grand, whose commission was dated 1766 quarrelled on the voyage out with “A Gentleman Cadet in our ship, of the name of Macpherson, who had been a Lieutenant in a disbanded Regiment, after the Seven Years’ War. He picked a quarrel with young Grand and threatened to shoot him, but although the odds were “a boy and a huge big man of full thirty” the youngster was not frightened and apparently nothing happened. (Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long resident in India, p. 8).

William Hickey relates that on his first voyage “At the Mate’s mess there was a Madras Cadet named Ross, a man at least forty years of age, who had been a Captain in the King’s Service, but reduced to such distress as to be obliged to sell his Commission and adopt a Cadetship in the Company’s Service.”

Under the heading of “A Military Novice” the following letter appeared in June 1827.

To the Editor of the “Indian Gazette”.

Sir,—After a delightful and speedy voyage in one of the Company’s ships from England, I arrived about twenty days ago in the River Hooghly, and hastened on the wings of expectation to view this far famed City, Calcutta. The accounts I had read, and heard, of its appearances, were surpassed by the magnificence of the houses, ornamented with spacious verandahs, and each detached by itself, as if proud of its Grecian architecture, and anxious to have its just proportions viewed, distinct and apart from those of its neighbour. On my arrival at Chandpaul Ghaut a carriage was in waiting for me, and I was whirl’d rapidly along towards the abode of the nearest and dearest of my relatives. On passing Government House, which is truly a magnificent abode, for surpassing in appearance any of the regal mansions I had an opportunity of visiting in England, Chowringhee burst upon my view, the tout ensemble of which fully realised the expectations raised by hearing it styled “the City of Palaces.” In quarter of an hour I was in the midst of my family, and in their affectionate welcome forgot the years which had rolled away since last we parted. I was so completely engrossed with what was passing around me, that some hours elapsed before my thoughts reverted to the subject on which my fancy had dwelt by day, and my dreams by night, during the voyage, but my uniform, and my being gazetted a Cornet again, exclusively occupied my mind, and I longed for the morrow

when I might report myself to the Town-Major, and ascertain to what Regiment I should be posted. After a sleepless night, rendered doubly tedious by the heat and mosquettos, I rose at dawn of day, and in putting on my plain blue coat, congratulated myself on its being the last time I should appear in the dress of a Civilian.

"Having made my report in due form, and having been regularly admitted to the service, I was shocked to learn that there were not sufficient vacancies to admit of my being promoted to the rank of Cornet ; and that I must, for some months at least, remain without a commission. Thus situated, I reconciled myself to my fate by the reflection that until promoted, I should be permitted to remain at the Presidency and enjoy the society of my family ; but my misery was in a very few days rendered complete, by my being nominated in General Orders to proceed to a distant station and do duty with a Regiment of Light Cavalry.

"I learn that in each regiment there are Native Captains and native Lieutenants, who rank under Cornets, but holding commissions, must necessarily, in virtue thereof, exercise command over Warrant and other inferior Officers. Such being the case, there must surely be some mistake in withholding from me a commission, or in placing me without one, where I must be commanded by the youngest of these native Officers. I am such a novice in the military matters, that I know not what to do ; but it appears monstrous to a Griffin like me, to be liable to be ordered threes about to-day by a Musselman, and halt dress tomorrow by a Hindoo. Military authorities, it is said, are in every quarter of the globe tenacious on the subject of not cancelling an order which has once been issued ; consequently, I can indulge but little hope of being permitted to remain with my sister until I can emerge at once a Cornet ; but might not every difficulty be obviated, every bar to my happiness removed, by granting me a commission as Cornet from the date of my arrival, and leaving me ultimately to be posted to that Corps in which a vacancy may occur ?

"Independent of pride and ambition urging me to solicit a commission which will place me above every native Officer in the service, I feel doubly anxious to be gazetted a Cornet ; as, from the date of that appointment, the period of service which will entitle me to the Brevet rank of Captain will be reckoned ; and from the hoary appearance of the Subalterns I have seen, and the accounts I have heard, I am led to apprehend that my Regimental rise to the grade of Captain will occupy a space of time, which, with common luck in His Majesty's service would advance me at least to the rank of Major-General.

"With dreary prospects, but a buoyant heart I remain, A CADET, WHO WOULD FAIN BE A CORNET."

"Alexander Lindsay was a lieutenant in the old 104th Foot, (Royal Manchester Volunteers) which was disbanded on 1795 after a life of one year, and he went on half-pay. In 1803 he received a cadetship in the H. E. I. C. S. Bengal Artillery, and rose in that corps to the rank of full general on the 11th September 1859, being then General Sir Alexander, K.C.B.

After the Mutiny the Company's army was transferred to the Crown, and its officers held the Queen's commission. In consequence, General Sir Alexander Lindsay became a General, Royal Artillery, while still holding a half-pay commission as lieutenant, late 104th Foot. He drew half pay as such for 70 years, and his name may be seen under both descriptions in the Army Lists for 1864."—"Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research". Winter 1933-4.

May 22, 1825.

#### REMARKABLE ORIGIN OF AN INDIAN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

Sir,

In the 'East India Military Calendar,' (xi. 92,) I observed a short article on "the late Lieutenant-General Giles Stibbert." This brought to my recollection some particulars, with which I have long been acquainted, respecting the rise of that distinguished officer from the ground-floor of society, whence some in every age have felicitously aspired "to govern men and guide the state." The records of the service in British India, both civil and military, are not destitute of such examples ; yet what I am about to relate is, perhaps as remarkable as any which have occurred :

A gentleman, who has been deceased nearly half a century, but with whom, in my boyish days, I was intimately acquainted, was once travelling in Kent, when he called at the house of a Baronet of his acquaintance. He was from home, but his chaplain, who was also the minister of the parish, invited my friend to dinner. As they proceeded to the parsonage, the clergyman requested a lad, in a labourer's frock, to jump into a pond, by which they were passing, to procure some fish. This service he performed with marked agility, while the clergyman was expressing to Mr. Whatley, for that was my friend's name, his opinion of the boy's fitness for something better than his present employment of working in a hop-ground at four-pence per day. On this suggestion Mr. W. hired him, and subsequently recommended him as a servant to his brother, Mr. George Whatley, a friend and correspondent of Dr. Franklin, and for many years treasurer of the Foundling Hospital. This gentleman has been a consul in the Mediterranean, and a merchant in that trade. Thus he had occasionally Streights Captains among his visitors. To one of these our young adventurer, who had, no doubt, already felt the ambition of an aspirant, prevailed on his master to recommend him, and he made two or three voyages to the Mediterranean as Captain's servant. He then applied to his late master, requesting his assistance to go out to India, having learned that he was a friend of Colonel Clive, to whom Mr. George Whatley kindly wrote a letter of recommendation. Colonel Clive told the applicant that he could only give him a musket, but that he should have his eye upon him. Such appears to have been the introduction of Giles Stibbert to Bengal, of whose army he was, in 1784, if not earlier, Commander-in-Chief.

"This introduction to India, was probably, about 1756, when Clive was rapidly advancing in military reputation. It is also no improbable conjecture, that the battle of Plassey, fought June 23, 1757, might afford our young soldier some occasions to distinguish himself. His advancement, however, was rapid, for, according to the Calendar, he "raised, at Bankypore, in 1761, a battalion of Native Infantry," which "he commanded in 1763 at the siege of Patna, where he was wounded," and "at the battle of Buxar, (1764), he commanded the left wing of the army." He had become Major "in 1765," when he "beseiged and captured Chunar, then considered the strongest fortress in India," and thus "he gradually rose to the command of the Bengal army." He became Major-General in 1783, and in 1796, Lieutenant-General. "He retired," adds the Calendar, "on the conclusion of the war, and died, after several years' residence in England, much respected by his acquaintances."

"Nor, I trust, should one of his surviving acquaintance look upon this page, will that respect be abated by an anecdote related in the family where I gained all my information as to the early history of this fortunate soldier. The first five hundred pounds which he could acquire in India, he immediately remitted for the support of his mother, now, by the death of her husband, his step-father, became a widow; a fine expression of filial piety, deserving to be admired when military fame shall have become obsolete; when, as the heaven-taught seer of Judah sweetly sang, men "shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; neither shall they learn war any more."—Biographicus.

In the "Memoir of the Life and Military Services of Viscount Lake—1744-1808 by Colonel Hugh Pearse," is a brief account of the career of Major-General Sir Henry White, K.C.B., who joined the army in August 1772 at the unusually late age of thirty, and served four years on active service in the "Select Picket" before obtaining the rank of ensign. Apparently the "Select Picket" was a body of gentlemen cadets, who were formed into a company and carried arms, until vacancies occurred for their receiving their commissions; this picket was always posted on the right of the advanced guard of the army in the field. Apparently these soldiers, mostly in their teens, were the old-time equivalent of "Storm-Troops."

In 1772, as there was no fighting in Bengal, White obtained a transfer to the 12th Native Infantry, then serving in Madras under Colonel T. D. Pearse. He was at Cuddalore in the charge against the French, then commanding the 12th Native Infantry as a lieutenant, and subsequently marched his regiment 2000 miles to Cawnpore. In 1790 he again marched to the Carnatic in Colonel Cockerell's detachment. He highly distinguished himself at Seringapatam in 1792, and saved the life of Lord Cornwallis. In 1798 he went home for health, having attained the rank of major after twenty-six years of nearly continuous active service, at the age of fifty-six.

On the outbreak of the Maratha War in 1803 White, now a lieutenant-colonel and sixty-one years old, again volunteered for active service, and

resigned a comfortable command at Calcutta for that of one of the regiments ordered to the front. As the narrative shows, he repeatedly distinguished himself by his activity and determination. He was wounded in the chest by a grapeshot at Laswari. Major-General Sir Henry White K.C.B. died at Bath in November 1822 aged eighty. Active to the last, twelve or fourteen hours before his death he ordered his servants to put him on his horse for a last ride." pp. 212-13.

Colonel Henry Worsley C.B.

"In 1780 this officer embarked for India as a cadet on the Bengal Establishment ; he arrived at Madras in Jan. 1781, in which month he attained the 13th year of his age.

"The Presidency of Fort St. George having been at that time threatened both by land and sea, consequent on the recent defeat of Col. Baillie's detachment, which spread consternation throughout the settlements on the coast of Coromandel, the government of that Presidency had recourse even to the juvenile services of the cadets ; those of the season destined for Bengal, as well as those for Madras, were ordered to land, formed into a company, and trained to the use of arms."

In the "Autobiography of an Indian Army Surgeon : or, Leaves Turned down from a Journal," Dr. "Walford," relates that he booked his passage in the "Bamboozlebury" and sailed with about thirty "Field Officers, captains, and subalterns returning to duty ; matrons with assortments of young ladies, and a bagfull of cadets, enthusiastically

"seeking the babble reputation  
Even in the cannon's mouth."

He goes on to tell of a cadet, "the victim of a temper which no one cared to put up with. . . . Poor fellow ! he was sadly too rash in getting into scrapes, and marvellously indiscreet in getting out of them. He was a grave lesson to the youth of the "Bamboozlebury."

Fetching up at Madras, he went to the "Cadets' Quarters" in the Fort. A rowdy evening, "when bantering, and badinage, and revelry filled the specious hall, they were suddenly put a stop to by the ominous words, "You lie !"

We looked a ghast. "We knew what these words foreboded, and therefore you might have heard a pin drop—yet no breach of the peace occurred ; the party broke up in perfect silence ; . . . each sought his private apartment as best he might. The odious term had been recklessly cast at a noted duellist, who could split a leaden bullet on the edge of a pen-knife blade, and whilst others were dispersing, this man continued to sip his wine ; it was a trifle to *him*—he could soon settle that by taking away a life he could not give again."

After an uneasy night the doctor was disturbed by a fellow passenger.

"Arise, Walford ! and bring your instruments." I hurried on my garments, and picked up my forceps, a tourniquet a roll of bandage and a

probe, I following him to the beach, the sentry allowing us to pass on giving the parole . . . . "

"Mr. Blunt," said I, addressing our late fellow-passenger, whom we now joined, "you will apologise to the officer to whom you applied such objectionable terms? you cannot but regret them."

"Mr. Blunt made no reply, but his second, turning round, said, "It is impossible, no apology will be accepted; I have hinted at that already."

"The opposing parties met a little further on, and going up to the insulted man, I said :

"Captain J—it is my province to save life, not to take it away, if possible ; but I will also save you bitter regrets which even a seared conscience cannot always hide. It is said that you are skilled in matters such as this, and this hot-headed youth is very ignorant of them. I speak in the capacity of a non-combatant, who intends to do his best for whosoever may happen to fall."

The cool man turned towards his second somewhat scornfully, and made no reply. It is a great consolation to think that I did my best to bring about peace. I retired up the beach, displaying no doubt much more agitation than any of those more nearly concerned, and took my station removed from all view of the coming scene." . . . . .

"In a few minutes the shots were faintly heard above the surf as it broke on the sea-beach, and instantly returning to the ground. I thought at first that I had done so prematurely. The cadet was on his knees, as if in prayer, and so he remained ; he had so fallen. His second even thought him praying—but he was dead, stone—dead. A small purple speck no bigger than a pea, and a drop or two of venous blood upon his forehead, told where the bullet had entered. His second and I bore him to the fort gate, where he was taken up by others ; and we then proceeded to report."

"The necessary investigation into this sad affair detained me at Madras for a month. The "Bamboozlebury" left me behind, and I ultimately took my passage to Calcutta in another ship."

It is rather difficult to fix the date of this happening but it must have been somewhere about 1815. Unfortunately Dr. Walford does not tell the result of the inquiry.

In "Memoirs of the Early Life and Service of a Field Officer."

(Major David Price)

published in 1839 he describes his entry into the East India Company's Army.

The son of a Welsh padre he was left an orphan at an early age but was sent by himself to Cambridge and got into bad company. After one or two terms there he found his way home and was again given another chance which he relates in his reminiscences.

"In the beginning of November 1780 (being 18 years old) I left my friends at Brecknock, for the last time ; and in a few days found myself once more among the fascinations of the metropolis. The supply with which I had

been furnished by my affectionate sister, was not of a magnitude to enable me to encounter the searching interrogatories of my friend, the tutor ; and mortifying as the confession must be, truth compels me to acknowledge, that I again suffered myself to be hurried down the stream of delirious folly and extravagance.

"All this time, however, I was a prey to the most harassing reflections. For as my resources were diminishing my despair augmented. As my last and only expedient, I had disposed of my father's watch ; and I was wandering in a state of abstraction along one of the cross streets diverging from Oxford Street, when my attention was attracted by a flaming placard over the Green Man and Still, then an obscure public house in that quarter, inviting "all spirited young men, desirous of enrolling themselves in the service of their country, to avail themselves of the glorious opportunity which now awaited them"—&c. &c."

"This most trifling occurrence at once put the seal on my destiny. My first design was to offer myself a volunteer for one of his Majesty's Regiments serving in America ; but on entering the house I found it to be a rendezvous of a recruiting party for the service of the East India Company. However, when the recruiting officer, or crimp, as I afterwards found him to be, explained to me the truth, I told him, without hesitation, that the circumstance was perfectly immaterial to me ; since it was my object to quit the country one way or other. I then gave a fictitious name, which afterwards proved to me to be the cause of considerable inconvenience ; and desired to be enrolled a volunteer for the honorable Company's service. That night I passed at this den of wretchedness, listening to the tales of some old soldiers who had already served in India under Clive and Coote—embellishing their statements with the most gorgeous stories of captured treasures. On the following day I was conducted to the India-house ; where, with perfect indifference, I suffered myself to be enrolled a recruit for the service of the East India Company."

"That very evening, or early the following day, I was conveyed with several others, by one of the Gravesend boats, on board the Queen East Indiamen, then lying in the river opposite that . . . as I was disconsolately ruminating on my unhappy prospect, a message was conveyed to me, that the clergyman who officiated as chaplain to the company's shipping at Gravesend, wished to speak with me at the roundhouse. . . .

"After some preliminary remarks, this gentleman expressed his regret that a person of my appearance should have been drawn to the hazardous alternative in which he found me embarked. As this was the first indication of sympathy of which I had, for some time, been sensible, it had its full effect upon me ; and I burst into a flood of tears. Without reserve or hesitation, I made a full disclosure of all that had happened ; apprising him, of course, with my real name, with that of my father. What was my surprise when this friendly individual informed me that he was my countryman, and that he had been actually indebted to my father for his education."

That resulted in a promise to obtain for young Davies a cadetship and some days later, while still at Gravesend on board the *Queen* he was told that the appointment was on the way, meanwhile he was transferred to the *Essex* as an assistant to the surgeon and in that vessel he set sail for India.

Major David Price saw a great deal of fighting in which he lost a leg retiring on November 2 1803 having been Judge Advocate of the Bombay Army and secretary to the Commander-in-Chief. After retirement he wrote several books ; in June 1830 he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

"Major Price died on the 16th of December, 1835—aged 73. It was intimated to his Widow by his friends in Brecon, that a public monument was proposed to be erected to his memory. . . . Few stood higher in the esteem of his brother soldiers of the Bombay army—and of those who knew him in domestic and social life. He was generous, high-minded—of uncompromising integrity—an exemplary husband—a steady friend."

"Sir John Malcolm, one of the stars of British India and a name never to be mentioned but with respect, was a distinguished instance of an officer raising himself from an obscure beginning to eminence, through his own exertions, and a judicious exercise of his own abilities. Sir John was one of a family of four or five brothers, all of whom are knighted, and rose to distinction in their several professions. He came early to India being only fourteen years of age on his arrival, and occupied himself without delay in studying the languages, and acquiring a thorough knowledge of the habits, dispositions, and the ways of thinking of the natives, and an insight into their character. At the siege of Seringapatam, in 1792 he attracted the notice of Lord Cornwallis, was highly thought of by the Marquis of Wellesley, and was on terms of intimate friendly acquaintance with Sir Arthur, as the late noble Duke's published correspondence fully shows."

"East India Army Magazine and Military Review", 1853.

(page 402).

It is worth recording that the great Napoleon, dissatisfied with his prospects in France, and probably alive to the fact that if you want honour and glory it is wise to leave your country, went to London in his early days, to offer his services to the East India Company.

It is an intriguing thought to try to imagine what would have happened had he been accepted as a cadet in the Indian army. The history of India would have been changed. There would have been no invasion of Egypt by the French in 1798, and no expedition from India in 1801 to help turn them out. We should have been spared the long-drawn-out Peninsular War. The destruction of ocean commerce would have been avoided and, if what experts have said is true, the French as a nation would have been two inches taller, for he sacrificed the pick of French manhood.

The entire Central Asian policy of India would have been changed. We should have been spared the uneasiness caused for French and Russian



efforts against India. Still more, we should not have been led into that terrible series of blunders brought about by the invasion of Afghanistan in 1838, and our prestige would not have suffered the irreparable injury done by the retreat from Cabul in 1842.

But it is fairly safe to assume that had Napoleon joined the Company's army he would have been out of place. Men rise by being in focus with the times. Move them right or left, and they are little better than other, inferior beings.

Pensions, after years of service, were not always given to the dependents of deceased officers, but means were sometimes found to ensure something for the widowed and fatherless.

Cadets were often in their cradle when they were appointed and paid. In the Lancers' Cemetery, Secunderabad, is a memorial to Major General A. Monin, which reads—

"Who departed this life on the 5th. day of January 1839, in the 65th year of his age, deeply and deservedly regretted, having faithfully served in the King and Honourable Company's Service during a period of 60 years.

This is an instance of a "Child Commission." The General's father was killed in action, and the grant of a commission to a child of four was, at the time, a way of making a family allowance." (Madras Monuments.)

In 1784 Colonel Macpherson applied for a commission for his infant son, William Macpherson, who was duly appointed a Minor Cadet on the Bengal Establishment.

So little was thought of the Indian Army, or, to put that in another way—so much was thought of British Army officers that at one time, any of the latter of any age was considered fit to, and did, take command of troops on parade or in the field, over an Indian Army soldier no matter what rank the Company's officer might hold.

Colonel Thornton, in "Light and Shade of Bygone India" says, "In one case a child of 14, a lieutenant in a King's regiment, superceded at a critical moment in war an officer who had 14 years' service to his credit." (p. 10.) That such a regulation should have caused bitter feeling goes without saying, but so firmly is snobbishness ingrained in both services, that during the last war men of experience who may have been earning a large income in some learned profession and joined up to serve their country, were often treated as outsiders by the officers who had passed through Sandhurst. The "temporary" officers and the "regular" officers formed two distinct cliques which, more or less kept apart. This also prevailed in many newly-raised Indian units, and Indian Army Reserve of Officers were not even permitted to wear the uniform of the regiment with which, in scores of cases they laid down their lives. In England these patriots were dubbed "Temporary Gentlemen" and in the Indian Army—"Indian Army Reverse of Officers."

The old abuse of granting child commissions to children is well known, and in the account of Lady Mary Hervey (nee Lepell), 1700 or 1706—1768, in the D. N. B. it is stated on the authority of a letter written by the Duchess

of Marlborough in December 1739, that when Mary's father, Brigadier-General Nicholas Lepell, was commissioned to raise a regiment of foot in March 1705, she was given a commission "in his regiment as soon as she was born . . . and she was paid many years after she was a maid of honour. She was extremely forward and pert, and my lord Sunderland got her a pension of the late King (George I) it being too ridiculous to continue her any longer an officer in the Army."—"Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research." Spring 1935.

When, in February 1795, The Duke of York was made Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief, he set about the gigantic task of reforming the British Army. "One of his first reforms must have caused screams of angry rage in many a nursery, and consternation in many a schoolroom." (Mr. F. H. Hudleston, Librarian of the India Office, in "Warriors in Undress," p. 41-2.)

He quotes Sir Walter Scott, who "wrote that not only were infants and schoolboys given Commissions, but, "In some instances they were bestowed upon young ladies, when pensions could not be had. We knew ourselves one fair dame who drew the pay of Captain in the—Dragoons, and was probably not much less fit for service than some who, at that period, actually did duty, for no knowledge of any kind was demanded from the young officers."

General W. R. E. Alexander, one time commander of the 1st Bengal Cavalry stated that he was "Appointed a cornet in the 24th Light Dragoons in February 1816 and promoted to a lieutenancy in March 1818, he was put on half-pay in July of that year, and continued to draw his money for twenty eight years till his retirement by sale in 1846. However, in June 1820, he obtained permission from the War Office to accept a cavalry cadetship with the East India Company, thus continuing in the pay of the two services for a long period." pp. 3-4. "Incidents in India and Memories of the Mutiny", Edited by F. W. Pitt (1896).

Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, writing in 1775 states—"When I first came into the command of the Bengal Artillery I was astonished at the ignorance of all who composed it. It was a common practice to make any midshipman, who was discontented with the India ships, an officer of Artillery, from a strange idea, that a knowledge of navigation would perfect an officer of that corps in the knowledge of Artillery. They were almost all of that class ; and their ideas consonant with the elegant Military education which they had received. But, thank God, I have got rid of all of them but seven. I have compelled all officers to perform laboratory work at the annual practice."

His description of their mode of life tells how most of the senior officers lived.

"Live and be merry is their theme. To be a gentleman you must learn to drink by all means ; a man is honest in proportion to the number of bottles he can drink. Keep a dozen dogs, but in particular if you have not the least use for them, and hate shooting and hunting. Four horses may barely serve ;

but if you have eight, and seven of them are too vicious for the syce to feed them, it will be much better."

Obviously lads of spirit, it looks as if they emulated their seniors who were in the habit of drinking the downfall of their country's enemies, until they couldn't stand themselves. And, to judge by what was admitted they had little use for moral after-dinner entertainments either, for then, as now, an attachment to the fair sex was in no way diminished by a military education or, as Francis Bacon put it, "martial men seem to be given to women as they are to wine." They were convinced that the only way to waste time was by not enjoying it. One stout warrior used to drink a bottle of brandy "as an assistance" in getting through, at a sitting, a dozen bottles of wine. Apparently those who could afford it did not, as the boy essayist put it—"wear the white feather of a blameless life," but did their best to prove that raising a crop of wild oats needs a lot of moisture.

Colonel Pearse does not appear to be quite just in his condemnation. In the first place the Company found it most difficult to find officers for the guns. In 1767 they admitted that "no officer who knows the benefit of the Infantry service here will choose to quit it for any advantage the Artillery offers."

But years later, when the H. E. I. Coy., established Addiscombe as a training centre for young aspirants for service in India the atmosphere of that establishment was not altogether what it should have been.

General Hatch used to tell people he left Rugby to join the East India Company's military academy the Principal's maxim was, "Never believe a word a Cadet says, and if he tells you a thing ON HIS HONOUR, you may be sure it is not true."

But the fact is that honesty, truthfulness and loyalty are like blue eyes—they are born in men.

John Bunyan was not a soldier but some words of his can be used in regard to these lads—

"Such things are of that nature as to make

One's fancy chuckle, while his heart doth ache."

All deep water sailors of that time were gunners—point-blank gunners it must be admitted, but they knew how to load and fire cannon. The midshipmen may have known a little more than the men. Even passengers were trained to arms on the voyage out and an East Indiaman could generally be depended upon to put a good show against an ordinary pirate or privateer. They were, of course, no match for a warship, and were often captured.

Armament was prominent in ship life. Mrs. Fay, whose *Original Letters from India* is a classic, complained much of the drunkenness among the men passengers and states that she had an 18 pounder gun in her cabin, whose muzzle filled the porthole. As the guns were always kept loaded it looks as if ladies of those times were blessed with stout nerves.

In 1780 Colonel Henry Worsley, C.B., embarked as a Cadet on the Bengal Establishment. He arrived in Madras in January 1781, in which month he attained the age of thirteen.

At that time Madras was threatened by land and sea. The Government was so short of fighting men that the cadets were taken off the ships, even those intended for Bengal, formed into a company, and drilled as private soldiers.

Cadets formed what was called the Select Picket. They were distinguished by being always posted on the right of the advanced guard. Almost before they had forgotten their baptism in their home churches, they received their baptism of fire on the battlefield.

Colonel Welsh in his "Military Reminiscences" mentions Major James Denton of the Madras Army, a man of "herculean physique" who died on July 12 1868 aged eighty years, "after a service to his Queen and country of sixty years" in which he started as a private soldier.

Major General Sir John Horsford, K.C.B. was another ranker officer, intended for the Church. In 1772 while at Oxford, disliking the prospect of becoming a parson, he enlisted in the Company's artillery under the name of John Rover. He was then 20 years of age.

In Colonel Pearse's records, he states that Sergeant John Rover was indentified as John Horsford and under orders from Hon.<sup>re</sup> he was promoted to a Cadetship in the Corps. That was in March 9th. 1778.

The dates of his promotion are interesting.

March 9th. 1778 Cadet  
March 31st. 1788 Lieutenant  
November 26th. 1796 Captain  
May 6th. 1795 Major  
January 1st. 1800 Lt. Colonel  
August 1st. 1805 Lt. Col. Commandant  
June 4th. 1813 Major General.

For war services he was awarded Rs. 1,000/- a month while in the field, and Rs. 500/- when in cantonments. This was disallowed later on but he was given the pay of a Brigadier during the time he was on active service.

After his death the following order was published.

"After a service of 45 years in various parts of India, spent in constant and unwearied devotion to his duty, never even in sickness having enjoyed the indulgence of one day's furlough, this eminent officer, whose sound constitution, hardened by temperance, had long contended with an extraordinary complication of disease, particularly an ossification of the heart, ended a long life, 20th. April 1817, of useful service, 10 days after his return from field service at Hattrass. It is very generally allowed by the brother officers of Sir John Horsford, that for military science, extensive knowledge, systematic arrangement, inward application, and spotless integrity, he stood unexcelled. His presence of mind and fortitude were great to the last. Regular in the performance of his duties, military and domestic, he maintained his high character right to the end." "East India Military Calender", Vol. II, pp. 309-12.

One cannot disagree with Major General Sir John Horsford about his decision to discard the Bible and take up the sword.

Major William Watson served for many years in almost every island of the West Indies with the 34th Foot. He retired in 1767 after eight years in the 34th and entered the East India Company's Army. Landing in Calcutta in 1769 he was appointed Adjutant and Acting Chaplain to the 3rd European Regiment.

A reference to his career is interesting.

"He was present in the Rohilla action near Loldang in 1774 and commanded the 3rd European Regiment for several years with such distinguished reputation as to attract the attention of government, who granted him half table allowance. In 1783 his two sons were nominated minor Cadets, and in the following year, Colonel Ironside was directed to present him (on the Dacca Parade) with a highly caparisoned charger."—"East India Military Calender." Vol. II, p. 365.

The curious entries about an officer being appointed both Adjutant and chaplain to a regiment, and to be presented with a charger, to say nothing about putting his two young sons on pay as Cadets are all interesting.

"Cadets, whether of Cavalry or Infantry, are not required, or expected to conform to the Uniform of the Corps, with which they may be doing duty, further than by the provision of a plain undress jacket and plain Regimental appointments, according to the Uniform of that branch of the service to which they belong; and the Commander in Chief desires Commanding Officers will on no account permit Gentlemen Cadets to wear, in any situation, on or off duty, the full Uniforms of Commissioned Officers, until they have been promoted to the rank in public orders." (1813.)

Colonel S. Dewe White, in his "Indian Reminiscences" tells of the bad time he had coming out. It was the fashion, then, to treat young fellows badly—that was a phase of the humour of the day.

"On the 2nd or 3rd December, 1844, I left England on board the ship C—y, as a cadet in the E. I. C. S. My fellow-passengers were two young officers, and two other young fellows, besides the ship doctor, who was always ready for any kind of fun. I had only recently left school, and being totally inexperienced in the ways of the world, I became their butt, so that they appeared to enjoy themselves amazingly at my expense. Now, had they contented themselves with merely chaffing me, provoking as even that is, I might possibly have borne it; but to be incessantly the object of their practical jokes; to have salt put in my wine, and on one occasion even gunpowder inside a cigar I ventured to smoke till it exploded; to have hard peas propelled through a peashooter with stinging force against the different features of my face; to be tied fast to the ladder till they chose to release me, whenever I attempted to mount aloft; to have my chair suddenly withdrawn the moment I was about to sit upon it, amidst laughter at my fall to the ground—all this was enough to provoke to desperation one by nature hot-tempered! It will therefore be easily understood that I led a dog's life on

board ship, for not only were these games carried on during the day, but even at night they would not let me alone ; since sometimes they would come into my room when I was fast asleep and rub my face with burnt cork, so that when I awoke and looked in the glass, I found myself turned into a regular Christy minstrel !

"At other times I would find myself in the middle of the night dragged out of my bed by a cord attached to my big toe ; and once by a wicked device concocted by the passengers and the Captain of the ship, they made me furiously drunk. Moreover, I was barbarously treated crossing the Line. At last I could not stand it any longer, so in a fury, I sent them a challenge to fight a duel at the first place we landed.

"This instead of awing them only excited their merriment. I had a pretty dull time of it on board ship, for there was not much to take off my thoughts, and the interest in marine sights, such as watching the enormous albatrosses and other birds as they flew fearlessly by, wears away after a time. It was therefore a great relief when we arrived in February at the Cape of Good Hope, where we remained ten days.

"But it is time now to narrate that which wrought a great change in the feelings of the passengers towards me, transforming two of them from persecutors into sympathizing friends. A Mr. H—— (who I believe was going out as a clerk in a merchant's office) one day snatched the hat off my head and hung it up near the stern for the Captain, who had a gun in his hand, to aim at ; the latter immediately shot it into the sea. I felt excessively annoyed, as this was the only hat or cap I had left, and being in a regular passion I gave way to a torrent of abuse directed against the Captain, and at the same time snatching up his shot-bag, I sent it after my hat. The skipper now in his turn became furious. The first thing he did was to rush at me and knock me down with a single blow, for he was a very powerful man. Then in a mad fury he tried to throw down the companion ladder ; but with all my strength for very life I clung to the steps and prevented him accomplishing his fierce purpose. He then came and stamped upon me. At last, when I did come down, he confined me to my cabin for a day or two. Such an outrage, committed on a passenger, a mere youth, aroused much compassion and sympathy. Those that had teased me without mercy before, now became my comforters. I made up my mind what to do when I landed, and that was to prosecute the Captain for the assault and unlawful imprisonment.

"My intention coming somehow or other to the ears of the Captain of the ship, filled that hard-hearted man with the greatest alarm, and he had good cause to feel so, for had I carried out my intention, it would, I should think, have ruined him. His well-grounded fears led him to humiliate himself in an extraordinary manner, in the hope of softening my resentment. For he actually threw himself at my feet, and implored my forgiveness, which I was induced to extend, by the mediation of Captain MacV—, who urged the duty of forgiveness in a Christian point of view. I have nothing further to say of the skipper."

From his account the Captain of that East India man, must have been more of a sea cûr than a sea dog.

Colonel Dewe White's book reveals a remarkable character. Believing himself to be a pious Christian, he seemed to consider it a sacred duty to make himself as poisonous as he could to all who were not of his morbid way of thinking. Full of hatred he revelled in contemplating the misfortunes that his enemies would meet, and did happen to them in this world, and be in hell fire for millions of years, while he himself would be looking at them through the Golden Gates, cool and satisfied. The fact that he was generally hated by his brother officers filled him full of pious exaltation. If called upon to be at the funeral of a soldier, he went so far as to refuse to read the burial service over men whom he considered were not "saved." The extraordinary thing is that he should have continued in this way of thinking up to the age when, even if benevolence was no part of his nature, he might have pretended out of shame, to be possessed of a little of the skimmed milk of human kindness.

One little sidelight is this—He boasted of being a shameless "sponger." "To spare my own cigars I used always to accept one whenever it was offered to me. At last this attracted so much attention that my brother officers wanted to know why I never refused a cigar." He told them with a cat-that-ate-the-canary grin, that as a Christian he was "living on the enemy."

He was one of those Christian firebrands who did so much to bring on the Indian Mutiny. On page 86 he states—"It is a disgraceful fact that the policy of the Indian Government was, and had been for many years to keep the native soldier in ignorance of the saving truth of the Bible, as though we almost dreaded the idea of his becoming a Christian ; and had it been known that I had distributed Testaments amongst them, I have no doubt that I should have got into serious trouble. My bearer told me one day that he had been talked to by my Commanding Officer, Major Liptrap who tried to ascertain from him what I was doing in the way of proselyting the natives. I escaped simply because it was not found out. As a nation we were verily guilty of hiding our light under a bushel and we reaped the fruits of our cowardice in a fearful ordeal, which ultimately produced a great change for the better."

An old writer describing his arrival at Bassein in Western India referred to the fort at that place which had "sustained, a protracted siege from the Mahrattas in consequence, be it remembered, of an absurd attempt to coerce the Hindus into Christianity, for which the Portugese for ever lost, not only Bassein but the whole island of Salsette."

If the Portugese tried the frightful barbarities with which they indelibly stained Christianity in Ceylon, it is a wonder that any of them were left alive. The revolt in Bengal in 1857 might have lost us India, but the fact is that when people take seriously to religion they lose all sense of toleration.

A story is told about a young Scottish cadet of quite a different character to scrounging Dewe White. He landed in India full of high principles impressed upon him by a dear old grandmother "from which he should not deviate." He was invited, as usual, on joining his regiment to breakfast with

the commanding officer but declined. "Nay, I thank ye, sar. Ah've tea and sugar of my ane at hame." He may not have been religious but one feels rather sorry not to know his name although there is sufficient in that yarn to leave no doubt which was the better lad of the two.

A number of the United Service Magazine for 1823 contains a description of "The Griffin's Introduction to India." At that time a "Griffin" was the equivalent of the more modern "Tenderfoot." Dr. John Grant says this "Griffnage is the isthmus of a middle state between English and Indian life. It is the Second Infancy as it were, of all who quit the "tight little island" for the fervid shores of Ind. It partakes, accordingly, of much of the helplessness, artlessness and credulity of natural childhood."

"In due time dinner was served, when I made my first acquaintance with Indian edibles at a mess-table ; though it must be admitted that the opportunity was not a fair one for forming an opinion, the palate, especially that of a youngster, not being over fastidious after a long voyage. A variety of viands there certainly was, and an abundance, still I could not but notice the want of flavor in the animal food and vegetables. Of course I cannot recall the bill of fare, though probable the following dishes, amongst many others, figured in it,—mulligatawny, sheep's head curry, (the ingredient being a cheap one is much in vogue on the mess-table where dinner is furnished by contract,) a hind-quarter of insipid mutton, not over fat, and poultry very fresh, and of course, very tough ; then the vegetables might have been potatoes, nole-kole, and brinjalls, or jinjals, as some of us called them. For the second course, a mangoe-tart, custards and plaintain fritters, whilst a pine-cheese brought up the rear, flanked by the very white bread, and white butter. The wines were sherry and claret ; and the dessert consisted of the never-failing cashew nut, with plantains and biscuits.

"I had scarcely risen from my camp cot on the following morning when that indispensable functionary the barber was introduced ; indispensable at least in India, where not one man in twenty ever takes the trouble to shave himself : amongst our soldiery there being a barber to every troop or company. There are no more skilful or more communicative members of the profession than our Indian barbers, who are peripatetic, being ever on the move, and never operating at home. In this instance I was not sorry to submit my chin to the skill of another, albeit the black finger and thumb that embraced my nose to aid the operation were none of the sweetest. The shaving over, the man proceeded to go through a variety of professional evolutions, such as cleaning (picking) the ears, paring the nails, cracking the joints, etc., which latter, however, I willingly dispensed with ; indeed, it is seldom endured by Europeans, and was now mainly introduced perhaps to astonish the weak mind of a Griffin. Another accomplishment of the Indian barber is that of cutting corns with his razor !"

From officers' accounts of their first arrival in India there did not appear to be any great regard for dress or the fit of clothes.

In "Memoirs of a Cadet" (By a Bengalee) published in 1839 the writer expresses his mortification after staying at Spences Hotel when he and another



cadet went to report themselves to the Town Major at Fort William. "He equipped himself in a scarlet Swiss jacket with sword and sash *conform*. He had, in fact, been provided in Leadenhall Street with a cadet's uniform jacket and now started forth in dazzling blaze before my humiliated sight."

"The sirdar saw the merits of the case with that quickness of perception for which the natives of India are so remarkable, and whispered in my ear the soothing promise, that with my permission he would produce a tailor who should "do for master in two day."

We know those clothes and the anxious *durzie* trying on a coat that looked as if the wearer had a paralytic seizure, while he assured critics that if a "couple of fingers" were taken out of the back it would be all right.

"Bengalee" could not wait so long as two days so "I tied on a sash, the only article of military furniture then belonging to me, over my plain English dress, and sallied forth to put in execution a little plan I had devised. My errand was purely experimental, and the motive was to appropriate to myself as many salutes as might be offered to the badge I wore. With doors wide open and watchful as a lynx on both sides, I traversed the fort, nor was I unrewarded; although thoughtless private soldiers mostly allowed me to pass with capping, there were still some goodnatured sergeants and corporals who much obliged me by saluting. . . . As to the Sepoys, they left me nothing to wish for. In those days they were too civil by half, and would acknowledge anything with a sash on in Fort William."

When his *durzi* made suit came along the *durzi* remarked, with apparent exultation, "Now master look respectable, like captain." which led to a rupee *bacsheesh* "on the spot."

The extraordinary thing is that while military and millinery details were flagrantly disregarded, nobody seemed to ridicule the wearers. Toleration in dress, cleanliness (or the want of it) and education was rampant in those good old days of inefficiency clothed in tawdry finery.

Some idea of the leisurely way people took travel can be obtained from the itinerary of the East Indiaman *Early Talbot* which was "to be afloat" on April 7th 1792. "Sail to Gravesend the 21st ditto, stay there twenty days, in the Downs the 17th May, stay there ten days."

Six months later she might pick up the Sandheads when passengers, if they could afford it, came up by budgerow or dinghy the 80 miles of river. The ship might take the allotted time to come up the river—twenty nine days. About 1825 speeding up, the result of competition shortened the voyage by half. Passages from Home ports to Sandheads in 77 days were recorded and the British discarded the slow foot of dignity of the East for the slapdash of the West which has resulted in all our disasters such as the loss of the *Titanic*, *Lusitania*, *Egypt*, *RIOI*, and innumerable submarines. So perhaps we have not succeeded as well as we think.

In those tolerant days it used to be said that the English coming to India left their Bibles and their morals at the Cape of Good Hope and picked them up again on their return journey, twenty five years later. The non-existence

of the Ten Commandments anywhere East of Suez, though not proverbial, seems to have been already a recognised fact.

In some regiments the Sabbath was observed by officers commanding companies in British units, reading the "Articles of War" to their men. By the performance of this duty and hoisting the Union Jack on the flagstaff, they considered they had sufficiently honored their Maker.

When John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, arrived in India as a writer in 1769, his salary was Rs. 96/- per annum. That too was in the Secret and Political Department. As the rupee exchange stood at 2s./6d. his pay was equal to £1 a month.

Of a somewhat pious turn of mind, he complained that there was no Church, and Calcutta was "the living solitude of a city of idolators". Divine Service was performed in a room in the old Fort. Even in 1790 half a dozen palkies were sufficient to convey all the religious people in the city to St. John's Cathedral on Sundays, and, according to W. H. Carey, in the "Good Old Days of the Honourable John Company," "those who were present proceeded from the church to some native nautch."

When Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General was travelling upcountry, he halted one Sunday at a large station. The Judge was asked to read the Church Service, which request causing considerable embarrassment, as it had to be admitted there was not a Bible in the station.

Although John Shore was considered to be a pious youth, one gathers that he was one of those who, before leaving Home, did not trouble to inquire into the pay and allowances of the offices he might fill. Like everybody else he looked forward to making a fortune—to shake the pagoda tree even if he had to shake all the Ten Commandments to do it and when Clive came out to check corruption amongst the Company's servants, he was just as unpopular with the pious as with those not so very pious. In spite of John Shore's piety he wrote to his mother on December 3rd, 1769 referring to Clive as a man 'of infamous memory.' Perhaps what he believed was piety was only biliousness.

In those days Civil Servants were allowed to trade on their own account because it was obvious they could not live on their pay. To take bribes with one hand and multiplying them by speculating with the other was not considered so reprehensible as it would be to-day, that is when you are found out. The incorruptible non-bribeable official is a plant of recent, and possibly extremely delicate growth. If anything was said detrimental to those who helped themselves, they all consoled themselves by agreeing that he is a poor cook who cannot lick his own fingers. And, like the meek, they will, eventually, inherit the earth. Perhaps, were there more bribery today, more public works would be put in hand and the country be, in the end, all the better for it.

For a miserable hovel John Shore paid Rs. 125/- per annum. This meant that he was in debt to the extent of Rs. 2/8/- every month, before buying food or clothes.

His description of what went on during the voyage out gives an idea of the spirit of the age. He obviously disapproved of the dozen young fellows who were going out as cadets. They must have been a rowdy lot, for they fought two duels before the ship left Portsmouth. Three or four more were fought during the stay of the ship at other places on the way. These happenings were described by John Shore as 'minor extravagancies.'

The Captain was evidently a rough diamond. To wipe off the week's profanities he read the Church Service on Sundays. As most people then believed they could feel the flames of eternal fire under their feet, the Captain seldom failed, after uttering a stream of oaths, to ejaculate a prayer for forgiveness, observing, "Let us rub off as we go."

In 1800 when William Nott was seventeen, he embarked in the ship *Kent* for India. The *Kent* was accompanied by another East Indiaman, the *Queen*. Both ships were driven across the Atlantic by unfavourable winds and fetched up at St. Jago. While there the *Queen* took fire and was burnt out. Her crew and passengers were transferred to the *Kent*.

Overcrowded, the *Kent* eventually reached the Bay of Bengal, when she was captured, after a stout fight, by a French privateer. In the encounter young Nott was severely wounded by a pike. Sourcoff, captain of the privateer, transferred the prisoners to an Arab vessel, in which, weeks later, they made their way to Calcutta.

The miseries endured in this Arab vessel Nott often described as fearful. The *Kent*, with the *Queen's* crew and passengers was crowded to suffocation. All were put on board the Arab dhow. Among the prisoners were many wounded and several ladies. The ladies tore up their clothing to make bandages for the sufferers.

The dhow ran short of water and all were cut down to half a wineglassful per day. This was in the months of July and August 1800. When they landed all were sick and destitute, and many of them never recovered from the hardships of that journey.

Less than 4 years after this bad experience poor Nott was sent to Sumatra in command of some Bengal Volunteers who acted as Marines on board the ship *Lord Castlereagh*. He fell out with the Captain Robertson, who trumped up various charges, one being that he was improperly dressed in front of the enemy, for which Nott was placed under arrest. It appears the storming party under Nott jumped into the sea when nearing the forts, and Nott's red coat was saturated. He took it off but wore his sash so that he was recognisable as in command of the troops.

Robertson, finding himself up against a resolute character, subsequently directed Nott's release of which Nott refused to avail himself, demanding a courtmartial. At the trial he was honourably acquitted and Robertson was reprimanded, but Nott had been kept a close prisoner on board for four months. What must he have thought of life in a ship? Well, it is an old adage that he who goes to sea for pleasure would go to hell for pastime.

In "Bengal Past and Present" Vol. XIII pages 69-73.

Major V. Hodson worked out some interesting figures on the length of service and casualty returns of officers of the Bengal Army. He took, 5,000 names from Dodwell and Miles Bengal Army List to see what became of the individuals.

- 2,202 died in India
- 215 were killed in action
- 52 died of wounds received in action
- 31 were massacred
- 17 were killed in duels
- 36 were drowned in India
- 52 were lost at sea
- 164 died at sea
- 6 were killed in action at sea
- 80 died outside India
- 167 died in Great Britain
- 201 were retired and pensioned in Great Britain
- 113 were cashiered
- 434 resigned
- 107 were pensioned and retired in India
- 205 were invalided
- 124 rose to the rank of Major General.

Out of every four cadets who started soldiering between the years 1760 and 1834 only one returned to die in his native land.

Twenty cadets were lost in one ship on their way out. It is remarkable that no deaths from snake bite appear to have been reported.

Around the memory of these thousands of youths is the proud history of the British soldier in India. At no time has he been used for oppression and it can be claimed that he is on more friendly terms with the people of the country than are men of other walks in life. Merchants make war, soldiers make peace. The Temple of Peace is everywhere reared over our soldiers' graves, and the roots of the Pagoda Tree have been fertilised by his remains.

H. HOBBS.

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## Our Library Table.

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*The Library of the India Office : A Historical Sketch. By A. J. Arberry, Litt. D., Assistant Librarian. With a foreword by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Secretary of State for India and for Burma. Published by order of the Secretary of State for India at the India Office, London. 1938, 8vo. Price 2/6d.*

IT is quite a handy little volume, and the author, Dr. Arberry, has spared no pains to make it interesting not only to the specialists and the students of oriental lore, but also to the average run of general readers who feel concerned about books and seek acquaintance with the history of a large and remarkable collection thereof. The story is told of the beginnings and development of the Library of the India Office which is the oldest, and also perhaps the largest, specialist oriental library in existence. Within a very small compass of a hundred pages, a sketch of its history is given from its very inception to the present times, when it, being equipped with the splendid collection of about 20,000 manuscripts and 230,000 printed books, almost all in a good state of preservation, forms a reference library of immense value to those to whom the East affords subjects of study of engrossing interest.

In compiling this account, Dr. Arberry has drawn largely on manuscript sources preserved in the Record Department of the India Office and other archives. The notable feature of this very useful volume is that it is documented throughout by the addition of footnotes referring to the sources on which the statements are based. A short foreword is added by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, the Secretary of State for India and for Burma, who is also well-known in the field of Indological studies.

The publication of this handbook has, besides the ostensible purpose, another object in view, namely, that of making the general public aware of the existence in Whitehall of a large collection of works on oriental literature and lore and on Indian affairs, in manuscript and print, and its accessibility by arrangement to all serious students who might be desirous of taking the advantage of the resources at its command. The Library now is an imperial possession which the British people may justly be proud of.

The story of growth and of the subsequent development of the Library to its present impressive dimensions is rather romantic. In the early days of the East India Company, when the administration of the land passed into their hands, a more thoughtful section of the British people was impressed with the newly discovered culture and civilization of the East. Warren Hastings, Sir Charles Wilkins, and Sir William Jones were the pioneers to whom the oriental studies owe their beginning. Imagination of Europe was captured,

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and the practical Englishmen began to realise the fact that in order to become successful rulers of people with a culture and civilization of their own they should get to know them and the land they live in. Their languages and literary productions, their religions and philosophy, their social life and economic condition, and the environments in which they have grown up and which have moulded their thought were regarded worth investigating, and a small band of European scholars came forward to display to the West the assets of the East. This impetus to study the oriental mind led to the origin of the Indian Office Library, the growth of which is historically outlined in this volume, within the compass of six short chapters, where it has been shown how it developed from the "private repository representing certain of the material assets" of the East India Company into being, in the present day, perhaps the greatest specialist oriental library in the world.

The work is embellished with the portraits of some of the most prominent of pioneer orientalist who started the Library and helped the Directors of the East India Company to create a repository for oriental writings. The usefulness of the volume is further enhanced by the addition of an appendix giving an account of the published catalogues of the Library and a copious and helpful index.

S. K.

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## Review

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*Nadir Shah—A critical study based mainly upon contemporary sources :  
By L. Lockhart B.A., Ph.D., with a foreword by Sir E. Denison Ross, Kt.,  
C.I.E., D. Litt. Pp.X+344, published Luzac and Co., London.*

DR. LOCKHART has earned the admiration of all who are interested in Nadir Shah and his exploits, by his scholarly monograph on the great conqueror. To do justice to the Nadir's eventful stormy life and his brilliant campaigns, one must not only have a thorough knowledge of the complex political conditions in which he lived and a mastery of the apparently immense original sources in various languages, but also critical acumen, scholarly taste and capacity for methodical hard work.

Dr. Lockhart possessed all these qualities and may be said to have done full justice to his difficult thesis. He had studied Arabic and Persian under Professors E. G. Browne and A. A. Bevan at Cambridge, lived in Iran for some years and acquired intimate knowledge of Iran and of its people, did his researches under the guidance of eminent scholars like Sir E. Denison Ross, and Professor Meninsky in London, made a thorough study of all the important and of most of the unimportant sources in the well-equipped and acquired photostat or manuscript of such works as were not available locally. In short Dr. Lockhart was full equipped for the task, and did his best to make his work thorough and dependable. There is no doubt, as Sir Denison Ross says that his scholarly contribution to the politically important period will "achieve recognition from the students of Persian and Indian history".

Dr. Lockhart begins with a discussion of political condition of Iran and of its relation with foreign powers, about the end of the Safavi period. He then gives a detailed account of the origin and early career of Nadir Shah, deals critically with his campaigns against the Ghilzais, the Abdalis and the Afghans and others, and with his wars with the Turks, the Russians and the Mughuls of India, with his exploits in Persian gulf, and after discussing the various rebellions about the end of Nadir's reign, he gives an estimate of the attainments and character of his hero.

The author has divided his book into 26 Chapters in which he has systematically dealt with the various important topics in chronological order. At the end are added three appendices containing a short account of the development of the relation of Persia with Britain, a genealogical table of Nadir Shah and his descendants, and critical estimate of the important Persian and European sources. The appendices are followed by two Indices: one of the sources quoted in the text and the other of the subject matter of the text.

In the treatment of every topic the author has shown wealth of information, thorough knowledge of the literature on the subject, wide sympathy, critical ability and judgment. Wherever possible, he has "utilised the contemporary sources. It is only when they entirely failed him, that he turned to the secondary sources. In drawing upon the contemporary sources also he has not followed his authorities blindly. But he has made allowances for the circumstance in which they were composed and for the personal position of the various authors. Even on the *Kitabi Nadiri* of Muhammed Kazim of Merv and on the *Tarikh-i-Nadiri* of Muza Mahdi, which are accepted as the best authorities on Nadir, Lockhart does not depend entirely or follow blindly. The former, which in the opinion of Professor Barthold "surpasses all other sources not excepting Mahdi's official biography", according to Lockhart though in certain parts "of the greatest value and interest", is, in places, "inaccurate and phantastic". The latter, which is the official biography of the great adventurer and "is the only sure foundation upon which a critical study of Nadir's life and activities can be based", according to him "is not free from blemishes." It "contains a number of exaggerated statements and distortion of the truths and some episodes of importance are omitted altogether". Ali Hazin's (another contemporary author) "description of the battle are not of slightest value". Abdu'l-Karim Kashmiri's *Bayan-i waqi* a contemporary work, is according to Lockhart, in certain parts of very considerable value and his remarks on the physical and mental condition of the Shah "are of decided interest" Shirazis *Ruznama* which was not used by any other European writer before Lockhart, contains, according to him interesting account of the expulsion of the Afghans from Shiraz.

Over and above these and other less important sources which are subject to a very critical examination and study by Lockhart, he has also made a careful study and use of the contemporary and later European works and records preserved in London and Paris e.g., the State papers in Public Records Office in London, the Records of East India Company, Fraser's *Nadir Shah*, J. Otter's *Voyage*, J. Hanway's *Travels*, P. Bazin's letters and other works and papers connected with the subject.

All these and other sources Lockhart has used with care taking nothing at its face value, testing every statement on the canons of criticism and research. The main results of his researches he has embodied in his book and referring to the details in his footnotes which show abundantly the vast study that he has made for the sake of his work which is bound to hold its own as a standard authority.

Z. S.



## Obituary Notice.

THE LATE RAJA PRAFULLA NATH TAGORE.

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THE relentless hand of death snatched away on Sunday, the 3rd of July 1938, at 6-20 P.M. from the bosom of Bengal one of her dearest and noblest patriots in the person of the Raja Prafulla Nath Tagore of the illustrious Tagore family. This melancholy event took place at Tagore Villa, the garden house of the Raja at Alambazar, Baranagore, on the east bank of the Hugli. Here he was also cremated as this was his most favourite resort.

The Raja was born on the 10th November, 1887 at his ancestral residence No 1, Darpanarayan Tagore Street, Calcutta, built by Babus Darpanarayan and his elder brother Nilmoney just after the re-capture of Calcutta by the British in 1757. This house is the original homestead of the Tagores, the premier aristocratic family of Bengal. Prafulla Nath lost both of his parents in his childhood, and was brought up by his grandfather Cally Kissen Tagore. Young Prafulla Nath was educated at home, his education being entrusted to eminent scholars like Jogendra Nath Bose, Mohendra Nath Gupta and Mr. Keays, M.A., Bar-at-Law, the last named rising to the high position of Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta.

Raja Prafulla Nath came to the forefront of public life in Bengal in 1926 when he was elected Secretary of the British Indian Association, the parent of all such societies in India. He organised the All-India Landholders deputation which waited on Lord Irwin at Simla in 1929 to make representations to His Excellency regarding the political problems confronting the rulers and the ruled in India. He was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta in 1930, but the crowning period of the Raja's political activities culminated when he was called upon to become the President of the British Indian Association in 1932 which office he held for three consecutive years—1932-34. He was District Commissioner of the Boy Scouts' Association of Calcutta ; President of the Calcutta Club ; Chairman of the Anti-Terrorist Conference, and Treasurer of the Calcutta Committee formed in connection with the Silver Jubilee celebration of His late Majesty King George V. The title of "Raja" was conferred on him in 1935.

He was a generous patron of Art and Literature, while his charity and philanthropy knew no bounds. The records of the Carmichael Medical College, the Benares Hindu University, the Mayo Hospital, the Daulatpore College and many similar institutions will amply testify to the Raja's generosity.

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The Raja's untimely demise is a great loss to the Calcutta Historical Society of which he was not only a life member but a very valued supporter, and his passing is deeply mourned by all its members.

N. G.

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# Calcutta Historical Society

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## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

### PROCEEDINGS.

The Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held at Spence's Hotel, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 20th July 1938, at 6 P.M. On the proposal of Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Mr. Percy Brown was voted unanimously to the Chair.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the Hony. Secretary of the Society, then read the Annual Report.

### ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1937.

In presenting the Annual Report of the Calcutta Historical Society for the year 1937, I am glad to state that with the close of the year under review the Society has completed the 31st year of its existence.

It has to be mentioned with great regret that Sir Evan Cotton who contributed so largely to the pages of "Bengal: Past and Present" has been compelled to give up much of his literary work on account of ill health. The Society thus loses the services of a stout supporter and a great benefactor.

During the last two years Col. H. Bullock has done much to fill the gap but his promotion and the heavy duties of a Deputy Judge Advocate General have forced him to discontinue the research work which, we feel confident, was a source of pleasure to him. To both of these erudite scholars the Society owes a greater debt which it can never repay.

*Financial position.* During the year under review the membership of the Society numbered 125 as against 126 in the previous year. Of these there were 25 Life Members, 12 Honorary Members and 88 Ordinary Members. The accounts of the Society have been audited by the Hony. Auditors, Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes and found to be correct. From the Balance Sheet drawn up by them it will be seen that the balance at the credit of the Society in the Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. on the 31st December 1937 was Rs. 2,496-15-0. Of this sum Rs. 1,527-15-5 belongs to the General Fund and Rs. 968-15-7 to the Index Fund. In this connection it must be mentioned that a sum of Rs. 200/- was paid out of the Current Account of the Index Fund to meet a bill from the printers of the journal of the Society. To adjust the above balance it is necessary that a sum of Rs. 200/- should be transferred to the Index Fund from the General Fund, which, it is hoped, will meet with

the approval of the Committee. Subscriptions were in arrears up to the end of the year to the extent of Rs. 850/-. A small portion has since been realised but the major portion seems to be a doubtful debt. It is for consideration whether the names of the defaulters should not be struck off the rolls of the Society.

Although at present the financial outlook of the Society may not appear to be very dark, it is obvious that the Committee can only undertake for a limited period only the financial responsibility of bringing out "*Bengal: Past and Present*" every quarter. The heavy arrears and the dilatoriness on the part of many of its members to pay their subscriptions have compelled the Committee to consider the feasibility of publishing the Journal half yearly at least for the present. Two such numbers will appear, namely, January to June and July to December 1938.

The Society is indebted to Major Harry Hobbs for taking over the responsible duties of Honorary Treasurer in the room of Mr. D. C. Ghose who resigned at the beginning of the year under review. Major Hobbs was also good enough to store in his own office the books, records and blocks of the Society which, owing to the transfer of the Imperial Record Department to New Delhi, had to be moved out of No. 3, Govt. Place West, Calcutta, where they had long been stored. For this timely help he deserves the best thanks of the Committee.

*Index to Vols. XIX—XXIX of Bengal: Past and Present*: Appreciable progress has been made in the printing of this Index Vol. The proofs of some 20,000 entries, that is, 20,000 cards in manuscript, were read, corrected and passed by our Honorary Manager and Asst. Editor, Mr. N. Ganguly. Mr. Ganguly hopes to see the volume through the Press by the middle of August, if not earlier. This is a task of considerable magnitude and the thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Ganguly for the patience and skill, energy he devoted to this labour of love in spite of indifferent health.

The thanks of the Society are also due to all those who helped the Journal with their valuable contributions and enable it to maintain its high level of efficiency. Among them special mention may be made of Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., Col. H. Bullock, F.R.Hist.S., Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, M.R.A.S., Mr. J. C. De, M.A., B.L., M.A. (Lond.), Mr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Mr. L. P. Dutt, M.R.A.S., F.R.S.A., Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A.

The Committee also feel thankful to Mr. C. W. Gurner, Mr. D. C. Ghose, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Major Harry Hobbs and Mr. N. Ganguly who have willingly given their valuable time for the insurance of the success of the Society and its journal.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar proposed and Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah seconded the adoption of the Report. This was carried unanimously.

The Honorary Treasurer Major H. Hobbs read the audited account and the Financial Statement drawn up by the Honorary Auditors, Messrs. Lovelock and Lewes.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

## CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## GENERAL FUND.

## Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December, 1937.

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
<i>To Balance at 1st January 1937.</i>			
With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.		By Printing including Blocks & Reprints ...	1,026 6 0
On Current Account ...	128 8 11	Block-Making ...	63 6 0
" Fixed Deposit ...	1,200 0 0	Postage, Stationery & Sundries ...	111 10 6
		Office Removal Charges ...	13 0 0
		Bank Charges ...	2 14 0
Subscriptions Realised		<i>Balance at 31st Dec., 1937</i>	
Arrears ...	160 0 0	With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	
Current ...	908 4 0	On current Account ...	322 15 5
Life Membership ...	150 0 0	" Fixed Deposit ...	1,200 0 0
<i>Sale of Society's Journal</i>	179 3 0		1,522 15 5
<i>Interest on Fixed Deposit</i>	19 4 0	Imprest Cash with the Hony. Treasurer ...	5 0 0
	<u>Rs. 2,745 3 11</u>		<u>Rs. 2,745 3 11</u>

Calcutta, }  
 7th June, 1938.

Examined and found correct.  
 LOVELOCK & LEWES,  
 Chartered Accountants,  
 Registered Accountants,  
 Hony. Auditors.

## CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

## INDEX FUND.

*Statement of Receipts and Payments from 1st January to 31st December, 1937.*

RECEIPTS	PAYMENTS
To Balance at 1st January 1937	By Bank Charges ... 0 1 0
With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	Balance at 31st December, '37
On Current Account ... 969 0 7	With Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ...
	On Current Account 968 15 7
Rs. 969 0 7	Rs. 969 0 7

Examined and found correct.  
 LOVELOCK & LEWES,  
 Chartered Accountants,  
 Registered Accountants,  
 Hony. Auditors.

Calcutta,

7th June, 1938.

Mr. Abdul Ali proposed and Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah seconded the adoption of the audited accounts. This was carried unanimously.

The letter of resignation from Mr. C. W. Gurner of his office as Editor of "Bengal: Past & Present" was placed before the meeting by the Hony. Secretary. It was accepted with regret and a vote of thanks for his past services was placed on record.

Mr. Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., was unanimously appointed as Hony. Editor in place of Mr. Gurner on the proposal of Mr. Abdul Ali seconded by Major Harry Hobbs.

It was resolved that two "Half-yearly" numbers of the Journal (January-June and July-December 1938) be issued this year for reasons explained by them to the meeting.

It was also resolved that Rs. 200/- be transferred to the Index Fund from the Fixed Deposit to the credit of the General Fund, as this amount had been drawn from the Index Fund Current Account on the 3rd September, 1935 to pay the Printer's Bill (Vide Cheque No. 783427, dated 3-9-35).

On the proposal of Major H. Hobbs it was further resolved that an honorarium of Rs. 250/- (two hundred and fifty) only be paid to the Indexer as a reward for the patience, energy and time he so gladly devoted towards the production of the third volume of the Index to "Bengal: Past & Present".

*Office Bearers* : All the office bearers of the previous year were unanimously re-elected for the year 1938.

With a vote of thanks to their chair the meeting dissolved.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI,  
*Honorary Secretary.*



